# Music from the Tang Court

唐朝傳来の音樂

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Edited by Laurence Picken

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# MUSIC FROM THE TANG COURT

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# MUSIC FROM THE TANG COURT

## 4

A primary study of the original,
unpublished, Sino-Japanese manuscripts,
together with a survey of relevant historical
sources, both Chinese and Japanese, and
a full critical commentary

by
LAURENCE PICKEN

with

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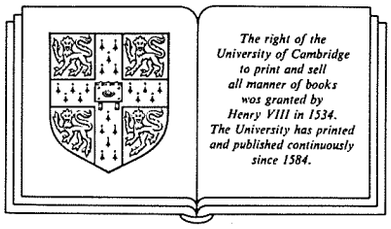


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ME

*To the Memory of*
*Arthur Waley,*
*who saw the fitness*
*for Cinnabar's flute,*
*and for Li Bo's drunken dance,*
*of the canto fermo:*
*'Waves of Kokonor'*

# Acknowledgements

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*Errata*

Fascicle 1, p. 5, paragraph 2, line 5: for 'Kunming' read 'Yunnan'.

Fascicle 2, p. 45: Radicle 30 has been omitted from the third lexigraph (*zhuan*) in the heading and in line 1, paragraph 2.

Fascicle 3, p. 8, righthand column: The last sentence of the translation of the *TD*-passage should read: 'The Master of Music, Ḥe Xu, chose. . .'

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# Abbreviations

## Sino-Japanese manuscript primary sources

| | |
|---|---|
| *CORYF* | *Chū Ōga ryūteki yōroku-fu* (*c.* 1320) Yamanoi no Kage-mitsu |
| *HFF* | *Hakuga no fue-fu* (966) Minamoto no Hiromasa |
| *JCYR* | *Jinchi-yōroku* (*c.* 1171) Fujiwara no Moronaga |
| *KCF* | *Kaichū-fu* (*c.* 1095) Ōga no Koresue |
| *KF/HSFRK* | *Ko-fu/Hōshō-fu ryokan* (1201) Toyohara no Toshiaki |
| *RJSF* | *Ruijū sō-fu* (eleventh century) Fujiwara no Morozane |
| *RSCY* | *Ruisō-chiyō* (*c.* 1261) |
| *SGYR* | *Sango-yōroku* (*c.* 1171) Fujiwara no Moronaga |
| *SSSTF* | *Shinsen shō-teki-fu* (1303) |

## Chinese and Japanese historical sources

| | |
|---|---|
| *GKMR* | *Gakukō mokuroku* (see *GKR*) |
| *GKR* | *Gakkaroku* (1690) Abe no Suenao |
| *HPGS* | *Honpōgaku-setsu* (see *GKR*) |
| *JFJ* | *Jiaofangji* (*c.* 758) Cui Lingqin |
| *JGL* | *Jiegulu* (*c.* 848–50) Nan Zho |
| *KKCMJ* | *Kokonchomonjū* (1254) Tachibana Narisue |
| *KKS* | *Kyōkunshō* (*c.* 1233) Koma no Chikazane |
| *RMS* | *Ryūmeishō* (1133) Ōga no Motomasa |
| *TD* | *Tongdian* (801, 803) Du You |
| *TGS* | *Taigenshō* (1510–12) Toyohara no Sumiaki |
| *TPGJ* | *Taiping guangji* (978) Li Fang |
| *WXTK* | *Wenxian tongkao* (*c.* 1308) Ma Duanlin |
| *WMRJS* | *Wamyō-ruijū-shō* (in part, late tenth century) Minamoto Jun |
| *YFSJ* | *Yuefu shiji* (Song Dynasty, before 1101) Guo Maoqian |
| *YFZL* | *Yuefu zalu* (890–900) Duan Anjie |
| *ZKKS* | *Zoku-Kyōkunshō* (late thirteenth century) Koma no Asakuzu |
| *ZZTJ* | *Zizhi tongjian* (1087) Sima Guang |

# Glossary of Signs

In order to provide the reader with as much information as possible, the transcribed quasi-full-scores also show the Sino-Japanese lexigraphs, etc., used to indicate certain features; by showing these, the reader may have the opportunity to see what the manuscript scores give, as well as our interpretation of what is given.

( ) Round brackets enclose notes etc. to be omitted.

[ ] Square brackets enclose notes and/or explanatory material editorially supplied.

由 Chinese lexigraph, read *yu* in Sino-Japanese, borrowed as sign for a shake. Where the lute, at the same point, shows a plucked mordent, and the zither a slurred mordent, the mouth-organ shake is presumably to be executed as a matching mordent.

引ㇵリ These are reduced forms of 引, read *hiku* in Sino-Japanese, originally meaning 'to stretch', hence 'to lengthen'. When the sign functions as a prolongation-sign, the length of the note corresponding to the preceding tablature-sign is doubled.

延 Both mouth-organ manuscripts make use of the lexigraph *nobe/yan* 延, also meaning 'to lengthen', seemingly used as a replacement for *hiku* 引. *Nobe* seems also to be used on occasion, as is *hiku*, as a binary marker (see instances in item 4 in this fascicle).

百 ○ These are signs for the bass-drum beat *hyaku*, today executed as ♪♩ This method of execution, with a brief up-beat to the main beat, may reflect ancient practice.

For convenience of reference, drum-beats are numbered in sequence in bold typeface, in both measured and unmeasured movements.

. . ○ . and . . 百 . Such signs constitute a one-line percussion-stave with small, solid dots marking single strokes on the *kakko* (smaller drum) and large hollow dots (and/or 百 *hyaku*) marking principal strokes on the *taiko* (larger drum).

• ○ Such intracolumnary dots function as binary markers in later manuscripts as well as in *JCYR* and *SGYR*. They may be solid or hollow. To prevent confusion between *kakko*-beats (*kobyōshi*) and binary markers, the latter are shown throughout as hollow dots, regardless of the practice of the individual manuscripts.

丁 This sign, read *tei*, is defined as a short pause in the *Hakuga no fue-fu* (Fascicle 1, pp. 13, 16), but perhaps is to be understood as no more than a break in sound-continuity on the part of the wind, marking the end of an extended phrase or section.

— This sign, read *ichi*, functions as a binary marker in the earliest manuscripts (Fascicle 1, p. 28), and occasionally appears in *JCYR* and *SGYR* also. In transcription the sign is rotated through 90°: |.

火 The lexigraph *ka/huo* 'fire' is a metaphor for speed. In the *Hakuga no fue-fu* (Fascicle 1, p. 9; Marett 1976, 1977) 火 is equated with the lexigraph 急. This covers a range of meanings, all related to 'swiftly', both

in Chinese and in Japanese. When written in sequence following a pitch-sign, the effect of 火 is to halve the duration of the preceding note. Between two pitch-signs, the duration of both notes is halved. In all contexts, the precise significance of 火 is determined by relationships between pitch-signs within a binary unit. Thus, if there are only two such signs within the unit, and if the second is followed by 火, this note is halved, and the binary unit is completed with a rest. Marett (1977, p. 20) sets out a number of variant uses of 火 – in specifying sequences of quavers in the context of predominantly crotchet movement, for example. ス appears to be used as a speed-writing form of 火.

二 The numeral '2', written following a pitch-sign, indicates that the note is to be repeated. The duration of the repeated note, and the durations of both notes, depend on relationships between all tablature-signs within the binary unit.

 This sign marks a retrograde movement in plucking a string on zither or lute.

# Preface

The reader seeking a general introduction to the series, and to the scheme adopted for the organization of the contents of this present fascicle, is referred to the introduction to the first fascicle (1981). There, information will be found relating to the manuscript sources, to problems of transcription, to the development of our 'Tang Music Group' and of our ideas regarding the history of the manuscript tradition in Japan. No attempt will be made here, or in succeeding fascicles, to repeat information once given. Where new manuscript sources come to be used, or where new information requires modification of views previously held, such matters will be recorded in a suitable introduction or postface to a particular fascicle.

As the List of Contents shows, this fascicle includes many more items from the Tang Court repertory than did Fascicles 1–3. This necessarily means that the amount of space devoted to an examination of the Chinese sources of information is relatively increased. In this connection, it should perhaps be stressed that, given the vast bulk of the Chinese printed sources, it is impossible that any examination made here should be exhaustive. It is to be hoped that the relatively cursory consideration of those sources here described may stimulate others to a more systematic and comprehensive investigation of literary and historical aspects.

Those responsible for the transcriptions published in this fascicle are: E.J.M. (zither), A.J.M. (flute), R.F.W. (lute), L.E.R.P. (mouth-organ). Bass-drum beats are marked as ○, ●, or 百. 'Small beats', *kobyōshi* 小拍子 are only marked in *one* of the string-versions for *gakubyōshi*-performance, where two are present, and are omitted in mouth-organ versions dotted for *gakubyōshi*-performance (see R.F.W., Appendix 4, p. 120). Ignoring the varying practices of the different sources, intracolumnary binary markers are shown as hollow dots in both string and mouth-organ versions. Save in Appendix 4, bass-drum beats are shown in mouth-organ versions as large hollow dots – in the originals they are large, solid, red dots – and as 百 in string-versions. In lute-versions, where notes are repeated at the same pitch, open-string notes are shown, regardless of the position of the note-head on the stave, with tails down (see Markham, 1983, 1, p. 49). In octave-leaps, open-string notes are also shown with tails down.

# Introduction

This fascicle, organized on the same lines as the peceding three, includes many of the most appealing, smaller-scale items in the *Ichikotsu-chō* mode-key group. Within this group there remain to be examined only the pieces set apart by Fujiwara no Moronaga in the sub-group *Sada-chō*. The transcription and investigation of these last will be continued in Fascicle 5.

The reader may be disturbed to find several slightly different Japanese readings (in transcription) given for individual Chinese titles. These readings are not necessarily standard, modern, Sino-Japanese pronunciations of the corresponding Chinese characters; they include variant readings that have been preserved, spelled in graphs from the syllabaries (*katakana* or *hiragana*), in a variety of historical documents.

Opinions differ among Japanese readers as to which of several readings is 'correct', and there is no single standard reading appropriate for each Chinese title. Beginning with this fascicle, all variant readings listed (without sources being cited) by Professor Hirade Hisao 平出久雄 in the table of *Gagaku* pieces prepared by him for the *Gagaku* section of the '*Encyclopaedia Musica*' *Ongaku daijiten* 音樂大事典, vol. 2, pp. 527–35 (published by Heibonsha 平凡社, 1982), will be set out on the title-page to each item in the order of precedence adopted by Hirade. The order is not always that of *Dainihonshi*. This table is not exhaustive; it does not even record all variant spellings of historical linguistic interest; and no attempt is made to show how the tune-titles were pronounced in 841, when the repertory definitively reached Japan. The table merely records a number of commonly accepted readings.

At times, inconsistencies in reading may lead to absurdities, as in the case of the title *Shōwaraku* (p. 41). It has been suggested that this was a piece composed during the reign-period (*nengō*) of the same name (承和); but the reign-period is now read as *Jōwa*, while the same two lexigraphs *in the title* are commonly read today as *Shōwa*, thus abolishing identity.

Previously it had seemed possible that the spellings given in *RMS* (1133) might be adopted as authoritative Heian readings. Unfortunately, however, both in these spellings and in the body of the text of *RMS*, *voicing* is frequently not shown, so that uncertainty remains as to the reading of titles. It is for this reason that the readings from Hirade's list will be shown. A general reconstruction of Heian readings of the Chinese titles, in the light of Japanese historical linguistics may be attempted at a future date. Against the scholarly background of studies of the ancient language, made by Professor Tsukishima Hiroshi 築島裕, a plausible reconstruction might well be possible.

Hirade's table also includes many more alternative titles, and variant writings of the titles in terms of Chinese lexigraphs, than are recorded in this fascicle. The value of these rarer alternatives is again diminished by the absence of indications of sources, but they serve to show, for example, how frequently substitution of lexigraphs may have occurred because several Chinese lexigraphs were read in the same way, in their *on*-readings – for example: 胡, 古, 公, all read as *ko*.

With Dr Wolpert's essay, 'The mensural notation of rhythmic modes, in string and wind parts of *Tōgaku*, in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries' (pp. 117–33), a major step forward in understanding a range of technical terms in twelfth-century and later scores has been taken. In particular, his elucidation of the system of dual mensural notation of the wind parts finally removes problems in their reading which have troubled those working in the Tang Music Project

from its inception in 1973. In the light of this essay, it has been decided, for the future: (1) to publish in transcription only primary versions from the string scores (*JCYR* and *SGYR*) of Fujiwara no Moronaga; (2) to transcribe wind parts according to the simple rhythmic notation — as indeed the mouth-organ parts have been transcribed hitherto.

Although the scoring of Dr Wolpert's example, *Sandai-en* in *SSSTF*, perfectly exemplifies the use of *kobyōshi* and *hyōshi* in specifying points of accentuation in the *gakubyōshi* version, in that dots are perfectly in horizontal register with tablature signs, it must be recognized that the scribes did not invariably achieve such a standard. Elsewhere in *SSSTF* (and also in *KF/HSFRK*) *kobyōshi* and *hyōshi* are in some instances strictly placed as they would be for realization in a simple rhythmic version. Elsewhere again, though one could now transcribe in the syncopated version — in the light of Dr Wolpert's recognition of the significance of 'anticipatory location' of the bass-drum beat on the *preceding* tablature-sign — registration is frequently imperfect. It has been this imprecision — noted by all who have worked extensively with the mouth-organ scores (L.E.R.P., A.J.M., J.C.) — that has prevented recognition of the secondary mensural notation as a systematic feature in certain mouth-organ scores. The difficulties in the way of this recognition in the case of the post-thirteenth-century flute-scores were even greater, since the increasingly decorated melodic line brought with it ever longer sequences of pitch-signs between mensural markings.

Dr Wolpert's achievement is in no way diminished by acknowledgement of the fact that the inability of plucked strings to *sustain* notes necessitated repetition — at the same pitch, or at the octave — of notes that on winds could be sustained. Examples of his (effectively) syncopated *gakubyōshi* versions from *SGYR* have been available for inspection from the time of his doctoral dissertation, completed in 1975 and his publication of extended examples in 1981; but only he appreciated the consequences, in terms of wind instruments, of such a procedure, the anticipation of the beat which it entailed, and the resultant 'anticipatory location' of beat-markings in the wind parts.

It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of the system of *proportio* (Fascicle 2, p. 106) now revealed: a highly diversified system of rhythmic modes, precisely notated in mensural systems of the latter half of the twelfth century. The entire system must have been in existence long before Moronaga's time. The terms by which the rhythmic modes are referred to are mostly to be found already in *RMS* (1133), and their use, without explanation, both there and by Moronaga surely implies that they are likely to have been used also by his predecessor, Fujiwara no Morozane (Fascicle 1, pp. 36, 56) from whose *Ruisō-chiyō* he evidently took so much.

No Japanese awareness of this complete system of rhythmic modes, of *proportio*, survives to the present. The Japanese handbooks on *Gagaku* and *Tō-gaku* tend to offer *instances*, rather than *definitions*, in the earliest texts; and the great compendia of Moronaga (*JCYR*, *SGYR*) give no explanations. No one has known precisely what *gakubyōshi* meant until this present exposition by Dr Wolpert, where the term is seen to refer to a syncopated version, executed according to a very precise, metrical and rhythmical, prescription.

Whence comes this system of *proportio*? Is it indigenous? Is it borrowed? And, if the latter, from whom? Although ternary metres are so rare as to be virtually non-existent in Chinese music — for greater precision, let us say in the music of the Han people as known today — it is surely improbable that neither ternary nor compound metres were to be heard at the Tang Court, where so many musics of Central Asia were to be heard. In Japan, the changes (for example) in scalar modal taste over the centuries are sufficiently well documented now to urge caution in generalising from the present state of musical taste in any East Asian country to its thousand-year distant past. Judging by Korean scores from the mid-fifteenth century onwards to the present,

the native taste of that nation has for that period always been for compound metres in duple or quadruple form, even though Chinese tunes of the Song Dynasty and later faced the Korean Court with tunes in binary metre. It might be argued that the compound *proportio* metres in *Tōgaku* performance came about through the influence of Korean musicians, as transmitters and as performers, in the earliest period in development of the Japanese Court repertory. It is worth remembering, however, that a tendency to transform 2/4 to 6/8, changing dotted quaver and semiquaver to crotchet and quaver groups is not uncommon in certain types of Japanese folk song. A tendency to relative displacement of voice and instrumental accompaniment – in *naga-uta*, for example – might be regarded as a kind of parallel to extended, systematic syncopated instrumental treatment of a melodic line; and there are of course parallels to out-of-step progression of voice and instrument in other East Asian musics.

For the time being, we can only recognise the existence of a body of seemingly unwritten rules of proportional transformation, preserved in mensural notation in tablatures, of the twelfth and later centuries, of the *Tōgaku* repertory. The absence of comparable transformations from other genres of Japanese music suggests, perhaps, that these techniques of metrical variation were in some way linked with the transmission of that repertory to Japan.

Fascicle 5 will begin with Fujiwara no Moronaga's introduction to the final sub-group: *Sada-chō* (the First Kuchean Mode: *Sādhārita*), in the modal group: *Ichikotsu-chō*, as well as the first item from that sub-group 'The King of the Gravemound' *Ryō-ō/Ling wang* 陵王, the origins of which lie in sixth-century China. The same fascicle will also include (from N.J.N.) conflations and analyses of twenty items from previous fascicles, together with an essay (by L.E.R.P.) restating the purpose of the series and summarising results so far obtained.

# 8

# 'Sogdians Drinking Wine'
# *Konju* or *Koinju* or *Koinzu/Hu yin jiu* 胡飲酒

## The title and its significance

A previous discussion of certain dances, imported to the Chinese court, which may have served as models for 'The Whirl-Around' *Toraden/Tuanluanxuan* (Fascicle 2, p. 11) has already introduced the reader to the interpretation of the term *hu* 胡, during the Tang period, as 'Sogdian' rather than in its general sense of 'foreign'. In the title *Koinju*, this word for 'Sogdian' is explicit and in first place: *Ko/Hu* 胡 **g'o/ɣuo/*hu (Karlgren, 1957, 49 a'). The lexigraph existed already in texts of the late Zhou period, and then, as now, with an astonishing variety of meanings. In *The Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli* 周禮) (Karlgren, 0000), it was used in reference to foreigners, but at that time to 'Northern Barbarians'.

While *Koinju* is a common Sino-Japanese reading of this title, the Tang-Chinese pronunciation must have been, approximately: *ɣuo-i̯əm-tsi̯əu*, and this is echoed in syllabic spellings preserved in *Kyōkunshō* (*KKS*):[1] *ko-i-mu-ju* or *ko-i-mu-shu* (こひむじゆ or コイムシユ according to different editions), evidently once close to the Tang-Chinese reading.

In this title, not only the association with the Hu is important but also the drinking of wine. As will be seen, in all, three items of the *Tōgaku* repertory have titles referring to wine, *jiu* 酒, and two of these also refer to the Hu. The partiality of Sogdians for wine made from fermented grape-juice seems to have made a considerable impression on the Chinese, and a lyric allegedly to be sung to the tune of this piece, and preserved in *GKR* (see *GKMR: GKR* 32, p. 972) speaks specifically of wine made from grapes. *KKS* also gives 'Drinking at the Banquet' *Ennonraku/Yanyin yue* 宴飲樂 as an alternative name; but this title is not known from any other source. The same handbook specifies that a particular costume is to be worn, that the piece is classed as a 'small piece' *shōkyoku* 小曲, and that it is 'old music' *ko gaku* 古樂. *KKS* continues: 'Sogdians, intoxicated from drinking wine, play this piece. Their appearance is imitated in the contortions of the dance-piece.' And later: 'A king of the Sogdians danced it.' But the former statement seems merely to be an attempt to equate the miming practised in the dance with the title, while the latter statement serves, presumably, to honorify the piece.

## History of pieces of this, or related, title

*KKS* states that the piece is said to have been 'made' by a certain Han Rei 班蠡, and an editorial gloss (in the Nihon shisō taikei edition) suggests that 班 may have been substituted for the commoner Chinese patronymic 范, read in the same manner in Sino-Japanese. Fan Li 范蠡 is indeed a name known to Chinese history in the fifth century BC,[2] minister to the Prince of Yue 越. When, with Fan Li's aid, the neighbouring state of Wu 吳 had been overthrown, Fan Li moved to Qi 齊 where he took the name 'Owl-skin' 鴟夷子皮 *Chiyizi pi*. This circumstance may explain why

[1] *Kyōkunshō*, 4, p. 71 (Nihon shisō taikei edn, 1973).

[2] See, for example, appropriate entries in W.F. Mayers, *Chinese Readers' Manual*, Shanghai, 1874, 1924, and more recent editions and printings.

this person has become linked with *Hu yin jiu*, for *chiyi* was also the name for a leather pouch or, more relevantly, for a leather wineflask. Such a wine-vessel will float when empty; and when Fan Li, having divested himself of the weight of office in the state of Qi, made his way in retirement to settle in modern Shandong, he did indeed float across the Five Lakes of the Yangzi Plain! Wherever this association of the piece with Fan Li may have come from, it cannot be regarded as affording any insight into the origins of a piece so clearly associated with the Hu.

Of importance in regard to the age of the piece is the statement in *KKS*: 'A certain document states that, in obedience to Imperial Decree, and in the Jōwa period (834–47), as to the dance: Ōto no Sanenawa 大戸真繩 made it, as to the music: Ōto no Kiyogami 大戸清上, made it. But as with 'Waves of Kokonor' *Seigaiha/Qinghai bo* 青海波, was it revised here, or was it newly made?' 'In the Jōwa period' would suggest a date corresponding roughly to the return, in 841, of the mission to Tang undertaken in 838 (see Fascicle 1, p. 13).

The title *Hu yin jiu* does not occur in Chinese sources; but the *JGL* includes a 'Wine-drinking Music' *Yinjiu yue* 飲酒樂, and this title (in Sino-Japanese *Onjuraku*) is quoted in *GKMR*, though it is not specifically equated with *Koinju*[3]. The *JFJ* includes no 'wine' piece, but a 'Sogdian' piece (see later), and two 'intoxicated' pieces are named: 'The drunken young gentleman' *Zui gongzi* 醉公子 and 'The drunken *kuntuo*' *Zui kuntuo* 醉褌脫, where *kuntuo* or *guntuo* is said to be a pointed cap of black lambskin, worn in a type of dance, and giving its name to the type. This notwithstanding, the literal meaning of *kuntuo* must be 'loose-trousers off!' It is to be remarked that, as Eckardt (1956, pp. 168, 169) concluded from a study of the Japanese handbooks, *Koinju* – contrary to the suppositions of Demiéville – is *not* a synonym for 'the wine-puppet' (literally 'The Vinous Sogdian' *Shukoshi* or *Sukoshi/Jiu Huzi* 酒胡子) (p. 91): the two items are musically distinct, as will be seen in due course.

A further special feature of 'Sogdians Drinking Wine' is that it figures in the list of 'Eight musics of Champa' (*Rin'yū hachi gaku* 臨邑八樂) according to the *Taigenshō* 體源鈔 (*TGS*), as noted by Demiéville (1925, p. 215, n. 1), who boldly equates *Koinju* with *Suiko/Zui Hu* 醉胡 'Drunken Sogdian' and with the title *Hu zuizi* 胡醉子 or *Zui Huzi* 醉胡子 in *JFJ*. (The latter form of the title occurs only in the *Leishuo* 類説 text of *JFJ*: Gimm, 1966 pp. 61, 192).) The association of *Koinju* with the Champa-pieces is implied by Ōga no Motomasa in *RMS* as early as 1133 (almost four centuries earlier than *TGS*), where, under this title, it is stated: 'When the dancers emerge to the *Old Free-Tune* (*Koranjō* 古亂聲), play the *Broaching' Mai Koranjō ni izuru toki Ha o fuku* まゐ古 亂聲にいづるときはをふく. Now in the preface to *Tori*, *RMS* states: 'The dancers emerge to the playing of the *Champa Free-Tune*. This is said, however, to be the same as the *Old-Music Free-Tune*. At the time of emerging for 'Bodhisattvas' *Bosatsu/Pusa* 菩薩 (see p. 61), however, it should be called *Old-Music Free-Tune*.' The implication is that the *Champa Free-Tune* and the *Old-Music Free-Tune* were one and the same thing, called by different names in different contexts; moreover, from the *RMS* text it is plain that the piece was to be called the *Champa Free-Tune* when, in particular, the dancers emerged for *Tori*. If the two *Free-Tunes* were the same, then the statement that the *Koranjō* may be played as introit to the *Broaching* of *Koinju* already links *Koinju* with the Champa repertory. However, the *Old-Music Free-Tune* (*Ichikotsu-chō*) transcribed into staff-notation by Shiba (1972, 4, p. 184) does *not* resemble the *Rin'yū-ranjō* given in flute-tablature in *KKS* (1; see Fascicle 3, p. 48) *except* insofar as it does not begin on the lower-octave final of *Ichikotsu-chō*. The preface to *Koinju* in *KF/HSFRK* establishes beyond cavill, nevertheless, the link with the 'Eight musics of Champa': '*Koinju*. Old music. A piece with a dance. At the time of emergence, the *Champa Free-tune*. . .' (see later). As was shown in Fascicle 1 (p. 34) the genealogy of this manuscript takes us back into the eleventh century, and indeed the first dates of members of this family of musicians occur in the tenth century. It would seem then that the authority of the Toyohara tradition confirms the association of *Koinju* with the 'Champa' pieces.

It will be shown in the preliminary discussion of structure (p. 8) that there exists also a musical reason for recognizing this same association.

Although Demiéville accepted that the references to *ko-gaku* 胡樂 in the account of the second eye-opening ceremony at the *Tōdaiji* (see Fascicle 3, p. 31) are to be understood as references to 'old music' (古 and 胡 are homophones in Sino-Japanese) rather than 'foreign music', it would seem more probable that the eight pieces of the Champa music were grouped together precisely because they *were* exotic – 'foreign' (*ko/hu*) – from a *Chinese* point of view; but the Hu in the pieces relating to wine were certainly Sogdians, as born out by the further piece to be considered later: 'The Wine-Puppet' *Jiu Huzi* (p. 91).

It must be remembered that the melody of *Koinju* also serves, with minor modifications, as melody for the *Saibara* song: 'At the Well in the Field' *Tanaka no ido* 田中井戸. Markham (1983) sets out *Tōgaku* melody and *Saibara* melody in parallel, as transcribed from *biwa*-scores of Fujiwara no Moronaga (Markham, 1983, vol. 1, p. 208, item 14) and provides a complete transcription of zither and lute versions of the *Saibara* melody, together with a reconstructed voice-line (vol. 2, p. 280). The *Saibara* version omits a repeat of four bars and so reduces the piece from fourteen to ten bars in all. It is to be noted that the tune is transposed to the *Sōjō/Shuangdiao* 雙調 mode-key, with final G (a Church Lydian octave-species with both F and C sharpened.)

[3] The piece survives and will be discussed in due course (Fascicle 4, pp. 97–101).

## Prefatory comments in the manuscript sources

### *KF/HSFRK*

'Sogdians Drinking Wine'

Old music. A piece with a dance. At the time of emergence: Champa Free-Tune. At the time of retiring, blow the *Broaching* of the said piece. Some say [in the] *Satai-chō* [more commonly: *Sada-chō*].
胡飲酒・古樂・有舞曲・出時・臨邑乱聲・入時吹當曲破・或説沙汰調

*Prelude* (*Jo/Xu* 序) Twice. Drum-beats of the separate times: seven.
●序・二条・拍子条別七

*Broaching* (quickly) (*Ha/Po* 破). Seven times. Drum-beats [=measures] of the separate times: fourteen.
●破早・七条・拍子条別十四

### SSSTF

'Sogdians Drinking Wine' *Prelude* 序

Twice; seven drum-beats; *Broaching* seven times; drum-beats fourteen.
二反　拍子七　破七反　拍子十四

*Broaching*
破

### JCYR, SGYR*

'Sogdians Drinking Wine'

*Prelude*: drum-beats seven; should be played twice.
序` 拍子七可彈二反

*Broaching*: drum-beats fourteen; should be played seven times. Southern Palace [and] Lord Long Autumn's transverse-flute score states: 'Should be played five times; in the last time strike "three-times beats".'
破` 拍子十四可彈七反 南宮長秋卿横笛譜云可彈五反終帖打三度拍子

Nowadays the *Broaching* is played seven times.
今` 世破彈七反

From the second time's thirteenth drum-beat strike 'three-times beats'
從` 第二反十三拍子打三度拍子

The dancers frequently suggest that, in 'three-times beats' some add the small stroke. The Organiser of Music, Minamoto no Rainō says 'Although this opinion exists, do not follow it.'
舞人多時助曰三度拍子之中或加小撥 樂` 所預源賴能曰雖有此説不用之

When abbreviating, play the *Prelude* once; the *Broaching*, five or six times.
略` 時序彈一反破五六反

At the time when the dancers emerge, blow the Champa *Free-Tune*.
舞` 出時吹林邑乱聲

At the time of retiring, play again the *Broaching* of the said piece, but strike 'three-times beats'.
入` 時重彈當曲破但打三度拍子

A small piece
小曲

Old music.
古樂

An upper marginal gloss over the preface in *JCYR* states: 'Regarding "three-times beats", one statement asserts that, between the second and the third drum-strokes a small stroke is to be added.' 三度拍子一説第二撥與第三撥之間加小撥也. The use of *hatsu/bachi* 撥 for a drum-stroke has not been met before in this series. The same word is used for drum-stick and lute-plectrum and, by extension, for the drum-stroke itself. Here it means, presumably, an interpolated 'small beat', like the up-beat to the normal main *taiko*-beat. In *JCYR* and *SGYR*, the string-parts show the change to 'three-times beats' in the thirteenth measure, mentioned in the preface, the interpolated beats being marked by circles ○. *SGYR* indeed marks a beat between the second and third of the 'three-times beats', thus indicating, perhaps, what is meant by a 'small beat'. This is evidently the tradition opposed by Minamoto no Rainō in the body of the preface.

The preface in *RSCY* is identical in content and phraseology with those of *JCYR* and *SGYR*, save that the flute-score cited is named as *Ribu-Ō ryūteki-fu* rather than *Nangū Chōshūkyō ō-teki-fu*. The use of this title as an alternative by *RSCY* has been noted before (Fascicle 2, p. 51). Again, it is remarkable that *JCYR* and *SGYR* run together titles of two originally distinct works, the title of Prince Sadayasu's score: *Nangū-fu*, and that of Hakuga's score: *Chōshūkyō-fu*, in a single title: *Nangū Chōshūkyō ō-teki-fu*.

* Under the heading: 'Pieces in *Ichikotsu-chō* (b) — *biwa* in *Sōjō* [tuning]'

## PRELUDE *Jo/Xu* 序

[1] *JCYR* (right): 'one version states ,

[2] *SGYR* (right): '*Silk & Bamboo Score* ,

[2a] *JCYR* (incomplete? right-hand gloss)

[3] *JCYR* (right): 'one version states

[4] *SGYR* (right): 'one version states there is no 火'

[5] *JCYR* (right): 'one version states '

[6] *SGYR* (right): 'one version states '

[7] *SGYR* (right): 'one version states there is no 火'

## BROACHING *Ha/Po* 破

[1] *SGYR* (left): 'one version states [illegible]'

[2] *SGYR* (left): 'one version states [illegible]'

[3] *SGYR* (right): 'one version states add these [drum-beats]'
一説加之

## Preliminary comments on mode and structure of the suite

The piece 'Sogdians drinking wine' consists of two movements only: *Prelude* and *Broaching*. As the prefaces indicate (p. 3), the dancers emerge to the *Champa Free-Tune Rin'yū-ranjō* (Fascicle 3, p. 48) and retire to the *Broaching*. A note at the end of the preface in *KF/HSFRK* states that, by some, it is said to be in the *Sada-chō/Shatai-diao* 沙汰調 mode-key (the form *Sada/Shatuo* 沙陁/池 is more common). Moronaga equates this with the *Ichikotsu-chō* – in his revised system of tunings: Lydian on D – and this is the character of the *Shatuo-diao* in the *Fushimi-no-miya bon biwa-fu* (see Fascicle 1, p. 9 n. 11). However, the mouth-organ parts show the *Prelude* as heptatonic Mixolydian on D, while the *Broaching* is hexatonic, lacking a seventh, save as the lower element of a mordent on the final (two occurrences).

Takakusu[4] confidently equated the *Sada* of *Sada-chō* with a word made from the initial syllables of the Sanskrit names for degrees of the scale; either from first and sixth degrees: *sa-dha*, or from first, sixth, and seventh degrees: *sa-dha-ni*; but there is no evidence in Indian musical texts for such a formation. In any case, during the first millenium AD, a scale beginning on *sa* is likely to have been a 'minor' scale (Church Dorian, for example) rather than 'major'.

An account in the *Sui History* (*Suishu* 隨書)[5] established sixth-century identities between seven Kuchean modal names and seven Chinese modal names (*diao* 調), and since the musical culture of Kuchā may reasonably be supposed to have been closely linked with that of India, these equations are of great importance for the early history of Indian music. The passage has been re-examined by Wolpert (1975 pp. 108–11), and again, in the light of early Sanskrit musical texts, by Widdess (1980, vol. 1, pp. 21–4).

If the Chinese transcriptions of these Sanskrit words are transliterated, using Karlgren's values for the dialect of Changan in 600 AD, one modal name in particular claims attention, since it is close both to a Sanskrit modal name and to *Sada* in *Sada-chō*. This is 娑陁力. The Changan-dialect sounds are *Sâ-d'â-li* or *Sâ-t'â-li*; and this might evidently be an approximation to the first three syllables of *Sādhārita*. (The *â* in Karlgren's transcription is a long *a* as in French *pâte*). Even to the non-specialist's eye, there are obvious resemblances between components of the lexigraphs 娑陁 and those of *Sada* 沙它/陁/沲. The Chinese lexigraphs used in the writing of *Sada* in Sino-Japanese manuscripts are clearly close relatives, or graphic variants, of those used in writing the first two syllables of *Sādhārita*: 娑陁. If the basic heptatonic Chinese octave-species was a Lydian set: T T T S T T S, the Kuchean mode with which it was equated, *Sādhārita*, also was a Lydian octave-species. The Sino-Japanese form 沙汰 *Sa-d'âi* or *Sa-t'âi* (Karlgren's values) might be a later contraction of *Sâ-d'â-li* or *Sâ-t'â-li*; and the change in the quality of the *a* in the first syllable may also be a consequence of transfer out of the original environment.

From the above, it would seem to follow that the term *Sada-chō/Shatuo diao* was indeed originally applied to a Lydian mode; and it may be that the pieces placed in the *Sada-chō* group by Moronaga, but also treated by him as belonging to *Ichikotsu-chō*, were originally pieces making use of a Lydian octave-species. We may accept, then, that the name *Sada-chō* undoubtedly has Indian connections, and we can now state more precisely that it probably derives from a Sanskrit modal name for a Lydian note-set, current in the sixth century: *Sâdhârita*.

The *Prelude* is of the *senza misura, tempo giusto*, type, in seven drum-beat periods and lacking a Half-Section. The relationship between the periods may be represented as follows: A, $A_4$, $A_4'$, B, C, B, C′, and the sequence of cadence-notes on which the periods end, and the drum-beats fall, is: D, A, A, E, D, E, D. Since the difference between C and C′ amounts to no more than a single note, the structure may be summarized as: A, $A_4$, $A_4'$ 𝄆: B, C :𝄇 . As indicated by the subscript '4', $A_4$ is a transposition of A to the fourth below. As first recognized by Hungarian[6] observers, this device is an archaic feature of Western, Central, and Eastern Asian, melody. In $A_4'$, two new binary units replace the single unit with which $A_4$ begins. Particular interest attaches to B, where the first three binary units are identical with the first bar-and-a-half of the second musical line of the *Broaching*. It will be noticed that the number of binary units per drum-beat period increases from A to C, and that the cadential formula so frequently encountered in previous items in *Ichikotsu-chō*: *e d e d d*, here begins and ends the movement.

Notable in the *Broaching* are the substantially different readings of the four scores in measures 1, 3, and 7. In the quasi-full-score, the marked repeat of measures 5 to 8 in the lute-part is written out, matching the other parts, where no repeat is indicated. Measure 8 of the lute-part is remarkable in that it includes a first instance of a simultaneous fourth A–E.

Reference has already been made to a musical reason for accepting the association of 'Sogdians Drinking Wine' with the *Eight Musics of Champa*. It is the occurrence in the *Quick* of 'The Bird'/'*Kalaviṇka*' of measures 5 and 6 of the *Broaching* of *Koinju*; indeed, the cuckoo-like figure in measure 5 occurs twice in the *Quick* of 'The Bird' (Fascicle 3, p. 43). The presence of measure 5 together with the first half of measure 6, also in the *Prelude* of 'Sogdians Drinking Wine', suggests that this phrase was felt to be particularly characteristic of the *Broaching* itself. In the light of the apparent use of nuclear movements as a basis for the creation of ballet-suites, previously considered – *Toraden* and *Shunnō-den*, for example – it seems likely that the *Broach-*

[4] Takakusu, 1929, vol. 28; see p. 28 *re-Sada-chō*.

[5] *Suishu*, by Changsun Wuji 長孫無忌 (d. 659) and others; j. 6–35 (including j. 14) were completed in 656. See j. 14, p. 2382b.

[6] See, for example, the exposition in Vikár and Bereczki (1971); pp. 18ff and earlier references.

*ing* was the original piece, and that the *Prelude* was subsequently devised, making use of 'prelude' elements, common to pieces in *Ichikotsu-chō*, and of the characteristic cuckoo-like phrase from the *Broaching*, shared with the *Quick* of 'The Bird'.

The only surviving song-text linked with *Koinju* is that for *Onjuraku/Yinjiu yue* (*GKR*, *GKMR*, p. 972). It consists of eight lines, four of six and four of five lexigraphs to the line, and both quatrains could be sung in sequence to sixteen $\frac{2}{2}$ measures. The *Broaching* of *Koinju*, in fourteen measures of $\frac{2}{2}$, seems not to be suitable as a melody to which to sing such a text. Conceivably the text that has been preserved consists of two unrelated quatrains; but even though this may be so, the problem of marrying text and melody remains insoluble.

*RMS* perhaps retains a trace of an earlier version of the *Broaching* in measures of *four* rather than *two* binary units, since it gives the number of drum-beats in that movement as seven. It advocates 'compressing' – that is, hastening drum-beats from the end of the third repeat of the *Broaching* and striking 'three-times' beats. The same text states that when the dancers emerge to the *Old Free-Tune* (*Koranjō*) (p. 2) the *Broaching* is to be played, and there is augmentation of beats when the dancers retire. This would seem to imply that the *Prelude* is only to be played when the dancers do *not* emerge to the *Old Free-Tune*. As revealed by *KKS*[7], this dance has undergone a strange transfer from Left to Right; and the programme, stated by *KKS*, is unusual: dancers emerge to the *Old Free-Tune*, then *Note-Graspings Netori* 音取 (written 禰取) (the small tuning/mode testing-pieces) are played, then the *Prelude*, twice; then the *Broaching*, seven times.

Eckardt (1956, p. 170) suggested that the masks worn in this dance indicate origin in the East-Iranian, Sogdian area, in the region of Turfan, for example (for references, see Eckardt, 1956).

[7] Nihon Shisō taikei edn, p. 71.

# 9

# '[Miss] Ka's Piece'
# *Ka-kyokushi/He quzi* 河/何曲子
# *or*
# *'He Manzi'* 何滿子

## The title and its significance

There can be little doubt that the original title of this item was that of the famous eighth-century piece, known to the Tang Chinese as Γ*â Muân:tsi:* (in Karlgren's reconstruction of Ancient Chinese, the dialect of Changan in 600AD),[1] today: *He Manzi* 何/河滿子. This title was reputedly the name of the original singer-composer, family-name He 何, personal name Manzi 滿子. This was recorded by the poet Bo Juyi (see later) and is repeated by the anecdotal *Nanbu xinshu* 南部新書 [2] (compiled between 1008 and 1017 by Qian Yi 錢易), with the slight difference that, while the former says she was a singer, the latter describes her as a musician. The earlier of the two mouth-organ scores transcribed in this series, writes the *Ka* of the title with a homophone 歌, but goes on to state abruptly that '"Man" is the name of a woman dancer.' There, however, *Man* is written using a different, but homophonic, lexigraph 慢 (see p. 12). Another variant of this is shown in *KKS*: 幔 (*maki* 4, p. 71). The variation in the writing of the family-name as 何 or 河 is to be seen in the Chinese, as well as in the Sino-Japanese, sources.

It seems possible that 幔 'curtain' (in *KKS*) is a mistaken reading of 慢 'slow, slowly', as in *KF/HSFRK*; but 慢 is also a technical musical, and prosodic, term for a larger size of lyric-stanza and stanza-melody (Picken, 1966). Proceeding from this, it is conceivable that, knowing this *man* to have a musical meaning, it was substituted for the, in this context, not very meaningful *man* 滿 'full, satisfied' of the original name. The homophonic substitutions: 何 'what, how, why, which'; 河 'stream, river'; and 歌 'songs, to sing'; must have added to the difficulty of rational interpretation of this title, and we may suppose that the title 'Ka's piece' was devised in Japan to replace an otherwise incomprehensible *Kamanshi/ He Manzi* 何滿子.

Nevertheless, it is plain that a connection with the name of the original singer-dancer was known to the Toyohara family, even though not mentioned by Moronaga.

## History of pieces of this, or related, title

In Chinese sources, *JFJ* (see Fascicle 2, p. 7) lists a *He Manzi* 河滿子 in the list of 'Names of Pieces' (*Quming* 曲名 – as opposed to 'Names of Large Pieces' *Daqu-ming* 大曲名 ). Gimm (1966, pp. 343–5) discussed at some length the nature of this piece, concerning which performances on two occasions are referred to in the 'Lute' (*Piba* 琵琶 ) chapter of *Yuefu zalu*. In different surviving editions of *YFZL*, the first lexigraph of the title is writtten both as 河 and as 何, as it is also in different Sino-Japanese prefatory comments to the scores. A poem of this title by Bo Juyi (772–846) states that the title was the name of a singer in the Kaiyuan period of Tang (713–41).[3] The poem, a stanza of four lines, each of seven lexigraphs, with terminal rhymes in lines 2 and

[1] See Karlgren, 1957, entries: 1 f., g; 183 c.; 964a.

[2] Qian Yi, *Nanbu xinshu*, Zhonghua shuju edn, Beijing, 1958.

[3] *Hakushi monjū* 白氏文集 , ed. Hiraoka Takeo 平岡武夫 and Imai Kyoshi 今井清 , 3 vols (Kyōto) 1971–3; see vol. 3, 68, item 3505 (68/23b/p. 303).

4, occurs in a set of six such *jueju* 絶句 entitled 'Six quatrains on listening to songs' (聽歌六絶句). According to Bo Juyi's preface, the singer was from Cangzhou 滄州 (in modern Hubei Province); but according to the brief account in the *Nanbu xinshu*, He Manzi was a musician in Sichuan Province (Shu 蜀). In Bo Juyi's words: 'About to be executed, she offered this piece as ransom from death, but in the end she did not receive pardon.' (*YFSJ* includes preface and poem under the heading 'He Manzi', j. 80, p. 1133; some editions of Bo Juyi's works give a different last line: 'The emperor, in the end, did not spare her.') *Nanbu xinshu* agrees: 'Although she offered this piece, she did not escape.' In the much longer poem, with a different conclusion, by Bo Juyi's friend, Yuan Zhen 元稹[4] – 40 lines of seven lexigraphs – the piece is said to have been offered by her, as a pupil of the *Liyuan* 梨園 (the 'Pear-Garden' troop), before the Emperor Xuanzong: 'As soon as she began to sing, by imperial favour, she was freed from fetters.' Yuan Zhen, however, places the event in the slightly later Tianbao period (742–55).

Bo Juyi's quatrain includes structural information of importance:

From generation to generation, it has been handed down that 'Manzi' was a personal name.
About to go to execution, she first completed the piece.
The single stanza has four sentences, [but] the song has eight repeats.
From beginning [to end] it is a pathetic tune.
世傳滿子是人名、
臨就刑時曲始成。
一曲四詞歌八疊、
從頭便是斷腸聲。

Following Bo Juyi's entry in *YFSJ* under the heading 'He Manzi' is a further entry from 'The Duyang Miscellany' 杜陽雜編 which adds a further historical note, namely, that in the time of the Emperor Wenzong 文宗 (827–41), a certain palace attendant, Shen Aqiao 沈阿翹, danced the 'He Manzi' for the emperor: 'The air, the words, the style, the demeanour – all were beguiling.' To this is added the comment: 'Hence it was also a dance-piece.' In spite of this interpolation, following Bo Juyi's preface, the poem that follows is undoubtedly by Bo Juyi, since it occurs, as previously stated, in his collected works.

*YFSJ* adds a further quatrain, but with five lexigraphs to the line (lines 2 and 4 rhyming), by the late Tang poet Xue Feng 薛逢 (*YFSJ*, j. 80, p. 1133). This quatrain, however, has only a slender link with the original title, namely, that the last line refers both to 'stream' (川) – a play, perhaps, on the surname 河 ('river'), homophone of 何 – and to 'full', the personal name of Miss Γâ[=He].

Gimm noted that the all-important structural comment by Bo Juyi is worded differently in different editions. The lexigraph *ci* 詞 'a word, a sentence' may be replaced by *diao* 調 'a tune, a modal system', or by *yun* 韻 'a rhyme'. If we accept *ci* with the meaning of 'sentence', the quatrains of Bo Juyi and Xue Feng may both reflect the statement concerning 'four *ci*', and may both have been singable to the original tune.

As noted by Gimm, the piece continued to be performed – both sung and danced – well on into the ninth century. The reign of Wenzong (previously mentioned) is precisely the period in which Fujiwara no Sadatoshi was receiving instruction on the *piba* in Yangzhou. Gimm also records the extraordinary effects of the piece on audiences, including a performance before the Emperor Wuzong (reigned 840–6) at which the audience was reduced to a condition of trance. In this connection he points out that the family-name He was linked with Heguo 何國, the Chinese name for a Central Asian state in the vicinity of Koshānya, 100km to the west of today's Samarkand, in Uzbekistan (for references, see Gimm, 1966, pp. 343–5).

The association of the piece in Japan (see *KKS*, 6, p. 114) with the offering of flowers, in the course of a memorial service at the *Saishōji* 最勝寺, suggests, perhaps, that by the thirteenth century the primary secular character of the piece was no longer recognized. *JCYR* (see below) states that the editing of the piece in the Engi period (901–22) which led to the suppression of four measures (by Imperial Decree, see *RMS*) was done by the Governor of Yamashiro, Fujiwara no Tadafusa. By the time of *RMS* and of Moronaga, the piece was without a dance.

## Prefatory comments in the manuscript sources

### *KF/HSFRK*

'Ka's Piece' 歌曲子

New music. Drum-beats [=measures] sixteen. 'Man' is the name of a dancing singing-girl. There is no dance.
・新樂・拍子十六・慢舞妓女名也・無舞

### *SSSTF*

'Ka's Piece' 河曲子

Drum-beats sixteen. Some say twelve. 拍子十六或説十二

### *JCYR, SGYR*

'Ka's Piece' 河曲子

Some have 歌 for 河. Drum-beats sixteen. One version states drum-beats twelve.
河或作歌 拍`子十六 一`説拍子十二

*Ruijū sōfu* states: 'Drum-beats sixteen; but in the honourable Engi period [901–21], with the abolition of four measures, twelve measures [=drum-beats] were used; take note of it, following the Master's version.'
類`聚箏譜云拍子十六但延喜御時除口四拍子用十二拍子依師説注之[5]

[4] Yuan Zhen, *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 421, p. 4632, Zhonghua shuju edn, Beijing, 1960.

[5] *SGYR* inserts the lexigraph 又 *mata/you* 'furthermore' at this point.

A certain score states: 'In the recently passed eleventh year of the Engi period [911] at the *Sumō* [wrestling] Festival, at the time of the music for the great procession (*Mairi-onjō*), [this] is that which was edited by the Governor of Yamashiro, Fujiwara no Tadafusa, Ason, in improving an old tune.' There is no dance.
或譜云去延喜十一年相撲節宛忝〔入〕音聲之時故山城守藤原忠房朝臣改古手所撰[6]也无舞

[6] *SGYR* shows that the lexigraph 撰 *sen/xuan* was omitted by the scribe and later inserted by the same hand.

***RSCY***

The content of this preface is that of *JCYR* and *SGYR*, but after the reference to the Governor of Yamashiro, *RSCY* adds: 'Shin Shō-Ō, on the third of the third lunar month, giving a feast at a river bend, yet again used this piece.'
秦昭王三月上巳置酒河曲・仍用此曲

An upper marginal gloss in *RSCY* adds: 'At the Winding-Waters Banquet use this piece; next: "Peach and Plum Blossom".' 曲水宴用此・下桃李花

## '[MISS] KA'S PIECE' (*SGYR*: primary version)

[1] *JCYR* (right): 'one version states'

[2] *SGYR* (left): '  one version states'

[3] *SGYR* (right): 'Twice, also stated' 二反又説

[4] *SGYR* (right): '  one version states'

(A secondary version (*SGYR*) in *gakubyōshi* has not been transcribed.)

[5] *SGYR* (right): ' one version states'

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

The prefaces in the various manuscripts show that the piece was originally sixteen measures in length, but that it was shortened to twelve measures in the first year of the tenth century. If non-identical musical lines (two-bar phrases) are represented by an alphabetical sequence of letters, the structure of the piece can be represented as:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
A B A B C D E F

Line-cadences fall on

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
*d″ a′ d″ a′ e″ d″ d″ d″*, where *e″* is not terminal. Although there is no repetition of entire musical lines, apart from the repeat marked in the string-parts (the repeat of A+B), repetition of half-measures, transposition of half-measures, and duplication of cadential formulae in different lines, in pitch-sequence or in isorhythmic patterns or both, all serve to tie together a structure that appears, at first sight, to be *durchkomponiert*.

It is not evident that any part of this melody could have been used to sing a quatrain in lines of five or seven lexigraphs; nor is there anything about the tune that might be described as 'pathetic' (in Bo Juyi's words: *duanchang* 斷腸). It seems unlikely, always supposing that the quatrains of Bo Juyi and Xue Feng were intended to be sung to the original, eighth-century *He Manzi*, that the *Ka-kyokushi* is the original eighth-century tune. If it is not, it may be a later Tang melody, a refurbished *He Manzi* (see later, p. 00). *KKS* states: 'There is *tadabyōshi*' 忠拍子アリ; this means that the $\frac{4}{2}$ metre of the score is to be transformed to $\frac{12}{4}$ in performance, by doubling the duration of each second member of a pair of crotchets (Fascicle 2, p. 107; this Fascicle, p. 133).

*Tadabyōshi-proportio* transformation of first measure of *Ka-Kyokushi*

This performance-practice is not specified by the earlier *RMS*, however, nor by any of the scores transcribed.

As it stands, the changes in rhythm between measures of eight crotchets, and measures with up to three minims to the measure, are exhilarating, as a simplified revision of the mouth-organ version of the melody (p. 16) shows, when taken at a pace of semibreve = *c.* 60.

No score specifies a number of repeats; but that the piece was to be repeated, *accelerando*, is implied by *KKS*'s statement that 'when beats are added, strike *sandobyōshi* (='three-times beats') 加拍子時打三度拍子.

## *Ka Manshi/He Manzi* in the *Gogen kin-fu* (R.F.W., N.J.N., & L.E.R.P.)

The possibility that the *Ka-kyokushi* tune preserved in the *Tōgaku* sources so far considered is not the original eighth-century tune has already been mentioned. Strongly supporting this suggestion is the presence, in the unique score for five-stringed lute (known as *Gogen kin-fu*, 842) of a *Ka Manshi/He Manzi*-piece, a first transcription of which was published by Dr Wolpert in his pioneering, preliminary study of this manuscript (Wolpert, 1981). Although *Gogen kin-fu* (henceforward *GGKF*) provides *Modal Preludes* in five named mode-keys – Church Dorian on E, Mixolydian on E (two examples), Ionian on G, Aeolian on F♮, and Dorian on B – *tunings* for these are not specified. The latter had to be determined by experiment, given (1) the intervallic sequence of the five frets, confirmed by the satisfactory reading of the tablature of the piece *Sūmeiraku/Chongming-yue* 崇明樂, also present in *HFF* and *SGYR*; (2) the name of the mode-key; (3) knowledge of the intervallic structure of the note-set available in that mode-key.

The *Preludes* are followed by 22 pieces in tablature, but only for two of these is the mode-key stated. In some instances, the probable mode-key can be inferred from the pitch of the final and from the final cadential formula. In other instances a probable mode-key is known from versions of the pieces in later Sino-Japanese manuscripts. The transcriptions provided by Dr Wolpert were those that made best musical sense at the time of writing in 1975.

In the *Hyōjō* mode, the Dorian scale on E, *Ka Manshi/He Manzi* is the third of the twenty-two items, following the six Modal Preludes, contained in *GGKF*. The facsimile manuscript[6] in Figure 1 shows that particular care was taken over the tablature-signs, the embellishments, the retroflexive (backward-plucking) markings for the benefit of the player, and the placing of the *tei* (丁) character marking the two-part division of the piece.

[6] A facsimile of the *Gogen-fu* has been published in *Kogaku koka yōshū* 古樂 古歌謠集, *Yōmei sōsho* 陽明叢書 8, Shibunkaku 恩文閣, 1978, pp. 101–93; terminal commentary by Kishibe Shigeo 岸辺成雄, pp. 26–31.

Simplified version of *Ka-Kyokushi*

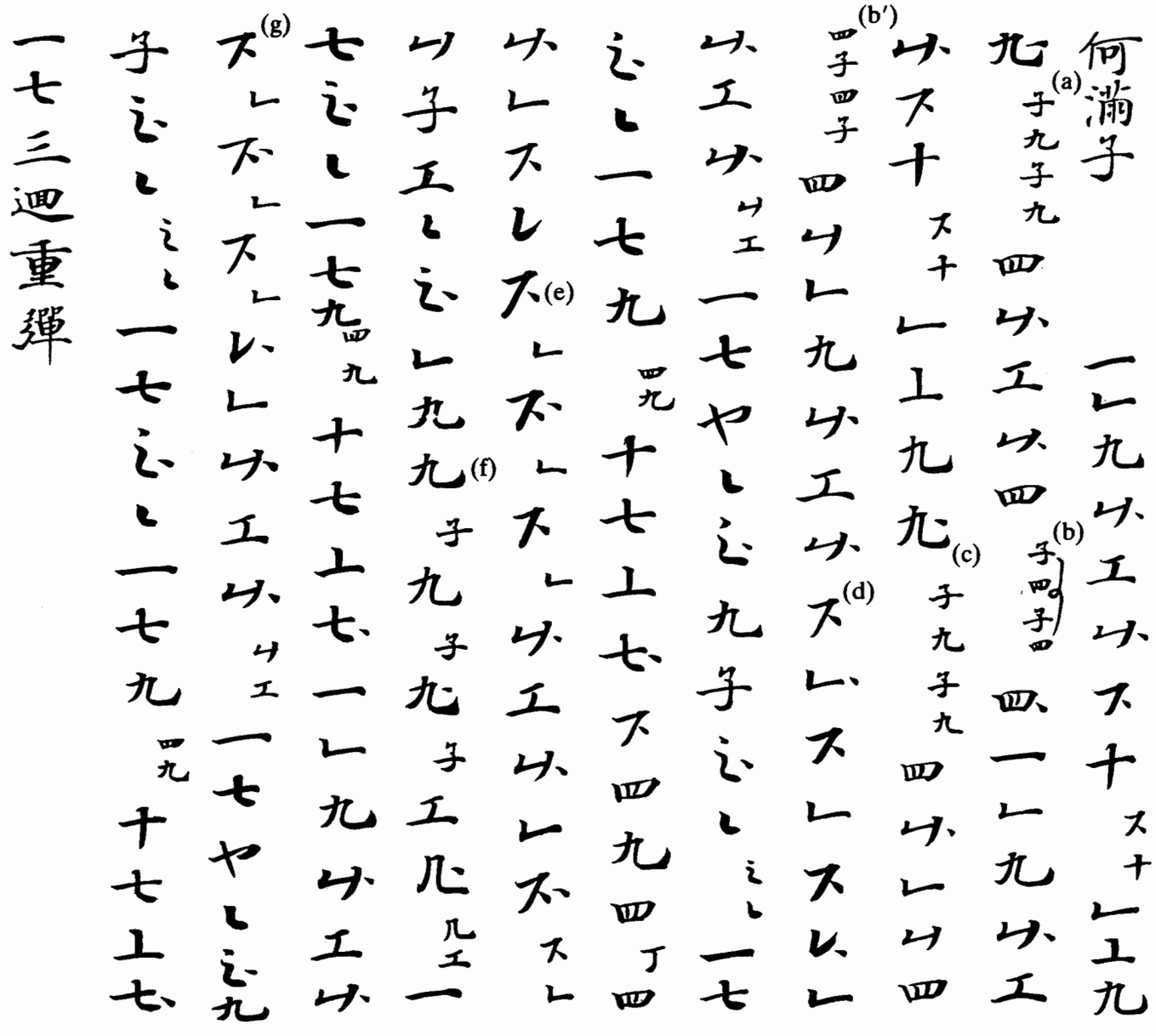



Figure 1 *Ka Manshi/He Manzi*: Tablature for 5-stringed lute from *Gogen Kin-fu* (*Yōmei Bunko*); a–g embellishments

In the Wolpert-transcription to the five-line staff, the crotchet/quarter-note is the standard beat value, the time of the embellishments (written in small characters to the right-of-centre of the central column in the manuscript) is drawn from the immediately preceding tablature-sign, and the binary division is marked. There is no *tei* at the end of the manuscript, but the last note is followed by the instruction: play, repeating three times ( 三迴重彈).

B4

* Notes in square brackets, tentative in this transcription by R.F.W., have been accepted in the measured version of N.J.N. (p. 18)

As it stands, the transcription of *Ka Manshi/He Manzi* cannot be regularly measured in $\frac{3}{2}$ or $\frac{4}{2}$ time, since it consists of a total of 148 crotchets/quarter-notes; in $\frac{2}{2}$ time it would make 37 measures, which is not feasible in this style and period. Reduced to 144 crotchet/quarter-notes (72 binary beats), the possibility of 18 measures of 8 beats, or 36 measures of 4 beats, is introduced; 24 measures of 6 beats, though numerically possible in an *Entering-Broaching*-type movement, distorts the shape and rhythm of the music in question.

Since *He Manzi* was a song (p. 18), a realisation of the five-string bass-lute part in the treble clef is given above the transcription. Like many items of known Chinese origin under the general title of this series, the piece falls into two well-defined parts in $\frac{4}{2}$ time (in this case, of nine measures each). To arrive at an adequate realisation, the barring system determining metre has been influenced by the positions of the backward-plucking strokes in the manuscript, these implying pulses lighter than the forward hand movements, implicit (though unmarked) on the first note of broken-octave, binary-beat, pairs of notes. Furthermore, since much of the music is repetitive, repeating passages have been reconciled with each other. Cadence-measures have been rounded out by completing the time of the measure on the cadence note; such completion has been necessary in other *Tōgaku* tunes, realised earlier from the tablatures.

Copyist's errors in the manuscript are acknowledged. Concerning measure 3, Dr Marett has inferred, in another context, that an expanded version of a movement (such as this) was the result of writing out, in full, repetitions indicated by repeat-signs in an abbreviated original. It is suggested that, in preparing the copy of *Ka Manshi/He Manzi* in *GGKF*, the copyist momentarily forgot, and wrote on for two crotchets/quarter-notes past the repeat, before recollecting his primary intention to write out the repeat. The repeat is shown written out in full in the source and the transcription.

*He Manzi*, transcribed into bass from *Gogen-kin-fu* by R.F.W., realised in treble staff by N.J.N.

(a) The manuscript does not show two eighth-notes here; the fourth note of the tablature is redundant.

(b) To preserve the same rhythm as measures 8 and 17, the groups have been spread over two beats.

As measures 6–9 are repeated in measures 15–18, measure 6 has been reconciled with measure 15. The first of the two plucking instructions in measures 7, 12 and 16, is misplaced by one beat; the passages are the same in 7 and 16, and similar in 12, and the same mistake occurs three times on the same note. Measures 9, 14 and 18 all raise the same query about the number of notes in the measure, and the appropriate time and rhythm. The function of these measures is cadential, explicit in measures 9 and 18 and implicit in 14, and all have the same cadence-preparation in their immediate preceding measures. As measure 14 contains two prominent note-formulae of the tune, the third binary beat (of five within this measure) has been sacrificed, leaving the conclusion of one phrase and the beginning of the next unimpaired (cf. measures 5 and 14). The movement of *g* – *f*♯ – *e* across measures 7–8, 12–13 and 16–17, has also been reconciled.

*He Manzi* (*Hyōjō*: Analysis

Modally *Ka Manshi/He Manzi* demonstrates the *ritsu* structure of *Hyōjō*, in Japanese terms. Along with other items from Fascicles 3 and 4, the modal structure will be discussed in Fascicle 5.

An important and unusual feature of *He Manzi* is the final cadence on *C♯* at the end of the first nine $\frac{4}{2}$ measures. In *Tōgaku* tunes in *Hyōjō*, the cadences that occur most frequently at the ends of musical lines (apart from the final, *E*) are *B*, or *G*. It is possible that the presence of this anomalous cadence on *C♯* indicates that the piece is in a *Deviant* (*Ce*側) form of the *Ping Diaozi* 平調子, in which a note other than the principal cadence can be borrowed for use in terminal position.[7]

While noting the strictly *ryo* character of *Ka-kyokushi*, in contrast to the *ritsu* character of *Ka Manshi/He Manzi* – particularly evident when *Ka-Kyokushi* is transposed up a tone to *Taishikichō* to facilitate comparison – several points of melodic similarity are evident, notwithstanding the difference in mode, but not enough to support a common origin of the two pieces. It is already becoming evident, however, from inspection of the *Gogen* repertory that, to some extent regardless of mode, similar or identical phrases are shared by a number of different items.

[7] See Huang, Xiang-peng (1980) (passim).

Comparison: Ka-Kyokushi (*KF/HSFRK*), transposed to *Taishikichō*, retaining original *shō* heptatonic scale, and *He Manzi* (*GGKF*), *Hyōjō*, arranged for comparison in basic *shō* heptatonic scale.

In association with this first examination of a *Tōgaku* piece preserved in *GGKF*, mention may be made here of several features deserving of comment. In addition to mordents, notated as in the lute-parts of *SGYR*, there are also what appear to be extended shakes, both by step and by leap, and notated in four different ways – as shown in the facsimile of the score of *He Manzi* (p. 16) at points (a)–(g). The sign to the right of the trill at (b) may be a variant of Chinese *liao* 了 (see Wolpert, 1977, p. 122). In this instance, the same finger, moving inwards–outwards or outwards–inwards, in alternation, plucks the same string, while the left hand stops the string at the frets indicated, also in alternation.

Several tablature-signs are significantly different from those used by other Chinese and Sino-Japanese lute-manuscripts (see Wolpert's comparative table of tablature-signs from five manuscripts on p. 113 of Wolpert 1977). Defining the fret-positions by Roman numerals for the strings (V the lowest string) and Arabic numerals for the points of intersection of string and fret, significantly different tablature-signs are:
V2 , V4 , IVO , IV4 , III3 , III4 , II4 (this last variant is known from other manuscripts; see Wolpert's table).

Dr Wolpert suggested that □ is to be allocated to IV3. It occurs once only, however, in the manuscript, and there – in the *Modal Prelude* in *Ichikotsu-chō* – it must stand for c♮. In the tuning suggested by him (and otherwise seemingly correct), with IV tuned to *A*, IV3 would yield *c*♯. It is here suggested that the copyist of the *GGKF* was working from a manuscript copy in which 中 (*c*♯ on string I, tuned to *a*) had been left incomplete as □. It would seem then that the space for a tablature-sign for IV3 should rather be left blank in the table on p. 118 of his paper, since whether IV is tuned to *A* or *B*, there appears to be no instance of the use of this fret elsewhere in the manuscript: *d*♯ does not occur in any *Modal Prelude* or piece; and if *c*♯ is needed, it is taken at another fret-position.

Two further points regarding *GGKF* and its contents may be made at this juncture. First, regarding the manuscript itself: no other manuscript in lute-tablature known to us, whether Chinese or Sino-Japanese, is written in the highly disciplined, regular-style hand (*kaishu* 諧書) characteristic of this manuscript. It is in this respect, as well as in its contents, unique. Secondly, it is surely remarkable that – even when allowance is made for the occasional use of shakes of various kinds, and of anticipated appoggiaturas – continuous melodic movement in notes of equal duration appears to be characteristic of this repertory. That is to say, even during the Tang Dynasty, secular, and to some extent popular, melody, exhibited one of the most striking features (a) of melodies from the Confucian ritual and (b) of melodies for the *Airs of the Principalities* (*Guofeng* 國風), preserved by Zhu Xi. This is already implicit in the melodies of *Tōgaku/Tang yue* preserved in *HFF*, in the mouth-organ scores of the Toyohara tradition, and in the zither- and lute-scores of Moronaga. It is explicitly exemplified in the *GGKF*.

# 10

# 'The Northern Courtyard'
# *Hokuteiraku/Beiting-yue* 北庭樂

## The title: its significance and history

The literal meaning of the title suggests a music associated with the rear and northerly quarters of an extended Chinese household, where the women and children are housed. This suggestion is borne out by the note on the piece in *GKR* (31, *HPGS*, p. 922) where it is stated that

> the piece was "made" in the time of the retired Emperor Teishi-in 亭子院 [Uda Tennō 宇多天皇, who reigned from 887 until 897] in the Northern Courtyard of [the Palace of] the Gate of Perennial Youth *Furōmon* 不老門. Therefore the name is 'Northern Courtyard'. The matter of the 'maker' has not as yet been investigated. (One source states that it was graciously made by Teishi-in himself.) *Flute-Score*[1] states: This piece was played in the Northern part of the household on the day of a Buddhist marriage in 'the Great Country' *Daikoku* 大國 [=China].

The text adds that this is where the women reside. *GKR* (32, *GKMR*, p. 970) draws attention to an entry in *JFJ*, in the list of 'names of pieces', namely, 'Northern Courtyard' *Beitingzi* 北庭子. Since this same list makes plain that a large group of piece-titles were regularly constructed from three lexigraphs, of which the third and last was either 'music' *yue* 樂, or an enclitic *zi* 子, *Beitingzi* might well be an alternative to *Beiting yue*. Apart from this entry in *JFJ*, however, nothing is known of the piece from Chinese sources. The sources available imply then *either* origin or editing, in Japan in the late ninth century (*KKS*, 3, p. 67), *or* a Chinese origin, not later than the eighth century. *RMS* offers no comment on the title, which is present also in *WMRJS*.

There exists, however, a further possibility, namely, that the title is to be understood (as it was during the Tang period) as a reference to a frontier area. In Han times, the term *Beiting* was applied to the homeland (in today's Inner Mongolia) of the Southern *Xiongnu* 匈奴, the Huns (the *Frûnoi* of Apollodorus – at the end of the second century BC, the *Gruneioi Skúthai* of Ptolemy the geographer). By 660 AD, however, the term was being applied to a city in the region of today's Xinjiang Province, and the government of Changan employed a Protector-general for Beiting: *Beiting duhufu* 北庭都護府. By Song times, the city of Beiting was also known by the Turkic name of Beshbaliq and lay in Uighur territory. It is not immediately obvious why a region Northwest, rather than North, of the Tang capital, Changan, should have been given this name.

Remembering the importance of the Northwestern frontier-regions for the introduction of foreign musics to the Chinese Court, as well as to the urban population of the capital, it is conceivable that this piece may have had some relationship with the Chinese Northwest.

It seems not unimportant that, for some of the smaller

[1] As will be seen in relation to the pieces *Kasuiraku* (p. 52) and *Butokuraku* (p. 106). *GKR*'s use of the (presumably) abbreviated reference 'Flute-Score' *Teki-fu* 笛譜 is *not* a reference to the tenth-century *Hakuga no fue-fu*.

items in the *Tōgaku* repertory, the older handbooks, *RMS* and *KKS*, as well as the musical manuscripts themselves, have nothing to say about their history. In some instances, the 'historical' anecdotes of *GKR* may be no more than fabulous interpretations of the titles.

## Prefatory comments in the manuscript sources

### *KF/HSFRK*

'The Northern Courtyard'

(quick) New music. Four times; drum-beats of each separate time, fourteen.
北遊(=庭)樂早・新樂・四条拍子条別十四

There is a dance. When emerging, play the *Modal Prelude*; when retiring play the same piece. In the last Section [=time] beat 'three-times beats'.
有舞・出時吹調子・入時吹當曲・終帖打三度拍子

### *SSSTF*

'The Northern Courtyard'
Fourteen drum-beats. Four times. In the last Section add drum-beats.
北遊(=庭)樂 拍子十四 四反 終帖加拍子

### *JCYR, SGYR*

'The Northern Courtyard' Some have 亭 instead of 遊; fourteen drum-beats.
Should be played four times.
●北遊(庭)樂 遊或作亭 拍ˋ子十四 可彈四反

In all, 56 drum-beats [=measures]. In the last Section beat 'three-times beats'.
合ˋ 拍子五十六 終帖打三度拍子

When abbreviating, play twice. In the last Section, increase bass-drum [beats].
略ˋ 時彈二反 終帖上大鼓

When the dancers emerge, play the *Modal Prelude*. When retiring play the same piece again.
舞ˋ 出時吹調子 入ˋ 時重彈當曲

A middle-sized piece. New music.
中ˋ 曲 新ˋ 樂

An upper-marginal gloss reads: 'As to increasing the bass-drum [beats] when abbreviating, this matter should be looked into and commented upon.'

略時上大鼓事可尋注之

(Content of preface in *RSCY* same as for *JCYR* and *SGYR*.)

## 'THE NORTHERN COURTYARD'

[1] *JCYR* (left): 'one version states '

[2] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

[3] *SGYR* (right): ' one version states'

[4] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

[5] *JCYR* (left): 'one version states ' (ligature supplied)

[6] *JCYR* (left): 'one version states '

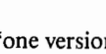
[7] *SGYR* (left): '~~ ~~ one version states'

[8] *SGYR* (left): '~~ ~~ one version states'

[9] *JCYR* (right): 'one version states '

[10] *JCYR* (left): 'one version states '

11 *JCYR* (left): 'one version states '

12 *SGYR* (left): '  one version states'

13 *JCYR* (left): 'one version states '

14 *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

15 *JCYR* (left): 'one version states '

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

The piece consists of fourteen measures of eight beats, grouped as seven musical lines, each of two measures. Unusually, however, after the first line, all lines begin with an anacrusis. This is made explicit in the string-parts by the insertion of markers (|) - see Glossary under '—' - in lines 1 and 2, following the sixth beat in measures 2 and 4. As with the previous piece, *Ka-kyokushi* (p. 11), the musical lines are all different: A, B, C, D, E, F, G; but again the piece is held together by isorhythm, and by repetition and transposition of half-measures in different lines. Cadences occur on *a'*, *d''*, *b'*, and *e''*.

While the apparent anacrusic structure speaks for a Japanese, rather than a Chinese, origin, the character of the tune is not otherwise noticeably less 'Chinese' than that of other *Tōgaku* pieces lacking anacrusic phrases. *KKS* (6, p. 113) confirms the present length of the piece - fourteen measures - and adds that it is to be played in *gakubyōshi*.

# 11

# 'Responding to the *Shao*' *Shō-ō-raku/ Ying-Shao yue* 韶應樂[1] *or* 'Responding to Imperial Decree' *Shō-ō-raku/Ying-zhao yue* 詔應樂[2]

## The title and its significance

These are the first instances thus far encountered of titles for a *Tōgaku* piece which cannot be construed as Chinese. If the phrase is to be so construed, the order of the first two lexigraphs must be reversed, as shown in the Chinese romanisations. The strikingly different alternative titles (a third occurs in *RMS*: 詔庭樂, but here the second lexigraph is presumably a misreading of 應) suggest already, perhaps, that graphic corruption has occurred, owing to confusion between homophones. The pronunciations of 詔 and 韶 in 600 AD were closely similar: *tśi̯äu* (Karlgren, 1957, 1131 q) and *źi̯äu* (ibid., 1131 a') respectively, where both *tś* and *ź* are palatals, but respectively unvoiced and voiced.

The *Shao* was the name of certain pieces of music mentioned in the *Book of Documents* (*Shu Jing* 書經), the music of the legendary Emperor Shun 舜 – the 'Succession Dance', as Waley (1938) termed it – after hearing which, in Qi 齊, Confucius 'did not notice what he was eating for three months' 子聞韶三月不知肉味 (literally: 'When the Master heard the *Shao*, for three months he did not know the taste of meat.' *Analects*, Book VII, 13.; see Waley, 1938, p. 125). The root meaning of this word, as indicated by its phonetic: 召 (Karlgren, 1131 e–h), may well have been 'to call'; and, by extension, 'to summon' or 'to welcome'; and hence, by further extension, 'the summoning-music' 音 + 召. Although 詔 (the graphic alternative) came to mean an imperial edict or decree, the nuclear meaning from which that meaning-extension arose was again that of the same phonetic: 召.

A further title-variant that may have historical significance is that preserved in *KKS* (6, p. 114): 'Also called the *Shō-ō-raku* of *Ryōshū/Liangzhou*' 梁州詔應樂. *Liangzhou*, written in two forms: 梁州 and 涼州, was the name of a commandery (and later of a state) in Northwest China, largely corresponding to modern Gansu Province. It existed from the Han Dynasty until 420 and the Empire of the Eastern Jin Dynasty. *Liang* 梁 was also the name of a short-lived Dynasty, 502–56 AD, which immediately preceded that of the Chen, whose last ruler was cited in the discussion of 'A Jade-Tree's Rear-Court Blossom' (*Gyokuju gotei-ka*, Fascicle 3, p. 2). The combination of *liang* with *zhou* suggests, at first, a reference to the ancient province that included Hubei and part of Sichuan; but it is more likely that *Liangzhou* 梁州 has been substituted for *Liangzhou* 涼州, the name of several short-lived Northwestern states of the Jin Empire (400–20), in an area from whence came important musical influences that helped to form the *Qingyue* 清樂 style of music, popular at Court during the Sui and Tang Dynasties (Gimm, 1966, p. 146). This region, the 'panhandle' of Gansu Province, was one of the most important thoroughfares through which cultural influences from Central Asia reached China. A specific '*Liangzhou* music' was associated with the commandery of this name (see Gimm, 1966 p. 222 for references). According to the *Sui History* (*Sui Shu*, 15, p. 378, Zhonghua shuju edn, Beijing, 1973) this same music was modified Kuchean music, known later, in the time of the Emperor Taiwu of the Northern Wei, as

[1] *JCYR, SGYR, RSCY*

[2] *KF/HSFRK, SSSTF, KKS*

'Music of Western Liang': *Xiliang yue* 西涼樂. The prefatory *Ryōshū* recorded by *KKS* suggests then a possible link with Northwestern China. *Liangzhou* 涼州 is indeed the title of a piece listed in *JFJ*.

This does not exhaust, however, the possible connections of the piece with the Western regions. Two other items in *JFJ*, in the first part of the list of names of pieces are: 'Imperial Audience' (more precisely 'Having Audience of the Emperor' or more simply 'Going to Court') *Chao-Tian yue* 朝天樂, and the piece 'The Western States have Audience of the Emperor' *Xiguo chao Tian* 西國朝天. Gimm (1966, p. 530) has argued that both titles may refer to a reported tributary mission to the Chinese Court, undertaken by six Tibetan tribal princes, in the seventh month of the year 793. (These same two titles may also be linked with a piece in the repertory of puppet pieces in the Song Dynasty, namely, 'The Audience for the Six States' *Liuguo chao* 六國朝.) This *chao*, now read as *chō* in Sino-Japanese, was close in sound to 韶 and 詔 in the dialect of Changan in 600 AD, namely, *ʈiäu* (Karlgren 1957, 1143 a.) where *ʈ* is a voiceless, palatal *t*. If the title of *Shō-ō-raku* was formerly *Ryōshū Shō-ō-raku*, the piece may perhaps have become confused with *Xiguo chao Tian/Seikoku chō ten*, especially if this title were shortened to *Seikoku chō* 'Audience for the Western States'.

## History of pieces of this, or related, title

Discussion of the titles, and their significance, in the previous section has already touched on all known, possible, historical associations between elements of the alternative titles and other tune titles in Chinese sources. The condition of the alternative titles in Japanese sources implies that the Chinese originals were lost at a very early stage after transmission to the Japanese Court. Furthermore, the piece cannot have been anything very grand or memorable in the Chinese repertory; it was perhaps, an interesting *pièce d'occasion*, or (from a Chinese point of view) an interesting piece of the exotic from the fashionable and intriguing Northwestern border-region, a piece that appealed to Chinese fancy because of its provincial associations; but the significance of the title would no longer be apparent in a foreign environment, and this may have encouraged the emergence of graphic variants in Japan.

## Prefatory comments in the manuscript sources

### *KF/HSFRK*

'Responding to Imperial Decree'
(slow). New music. Dance extinct. Five times. Drum-beats of each separate time, ten.
詔應樂延・新樂・絶舞・五条拍子条別十

### *SSSTF*

'Responding to Imperial Decree'

Ten drum-beats [=measures].
拍子十

### *JCYR, SGYR*

'Responding to the *Shao*'

Some have 詔 for 韶. Ten drum-beats [=measures].
韶應樂 韶或作詔 拍丶子十

Southern Palace's [and] Lord Long Autumn's *Score for Transverse-Flute* states: Should be played five times.
南宮長秋卿横笛譜云可吹五反

In all, 50 drum-beats [=measures]. In the final time, strike 'three-times beats'.
合丶 拍子五十 終丶 帖打三度拍子

A middle-sized piece. New music.
中丶曲 新丶樂

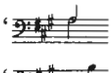
(An upper-marginal gloss states: 'As to the matter of *Wata-fu*'s number for the repeat in which to increase bass-drum [beats], this should be investigated.'
綿譜反[1] 数上大鼓事可勘之

[1] *SGYR* has the alternative: 遍.

*'RESPONDING TO THE SHAO' or*
*'RESPONDING TO IMPERIAL DECREE'*

[1] *SGYR* (left): ' ' one version states'

[2] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

[3] *SGYR* (left): '  '

[4] *SGYR* (left): ' *Katsura-fu*'

[5] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

[6] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

The tune consists of five musical lines, each of two measures of $\frac{4}{2}$: A, B, C, D, E, where the second measure of B is virtually identical with the second measure of E. There are, as noted in other small pieces, instances of transposition of half-measures, and much use of isorhythmic imitation between lines or half-lines. The effect of the melody as a whole is splendid – festal; and it is emphatically Mixolydian, as shown by the mouth-organ parts, with their *Shang*-mode cadences in crotchet/quarter-note values. Save for the fourth line, there is alternation of terminal cadences on dominant and final. Particularly effective is the progress to the dominant in the first line (A) *via* submediant (b′) and supertonic (e″).

A secondary, *gakubyōshi* version for lute (*SGYR*) has not been transcribed.

# 12

# 'One Time', 'One Game', 'One Go' *or* 'Supremely Playful' *Ichirōraku* or *Itsurōraku/Yinong yue* or *Yilong yue* 壹/一弄樂 *or* 'Supremely Eminent', 'Supremely Exalted' 'Supremely Abundant' *Ichirōraku* or *Itsurōraku/Yilong yue* 壹/一隆樂

## The title and its significance

The meaning of this title, with no context disclosed, is far from clear, and the Japanese handbooks offer no help towards its clarification. The Chinese word *long/nong* 弄 carries a variety of meanings, and none of these overlaps with those of the homophonic alternative 隆. Pairs of lexigraphs with 壹 or 一 as first member are frequently difficult to translate, and, again, they may carry a variety of meanings: 'one', 'the first', 'a, an, the', 'the same', 'uniform', 'to unify', 'to unite', 'all'. 弄 itself has the primary meaning of 'manipulate, play with, to play, to be fond of' (Karlgren, 1957, 1180 a-b). One might incline towards a quasi-Jacobean reading: 'A Toy', but for the existence of the alternative 隆: 'eminent, exalt, abundant'. Again, the presence of quite a different alternative 'Serving *or* Honouring *or* In Accord with Heaven' *Jōtenraku/Cheng Tian yue* 承天樂, mentioned in certain Japanese handbooks, offers no clue as to the meaning of the commonest form of the title.

*WMRJS* includes this title and adds a note on the sound of the lexigraph 弄 *rō*, namely, that it is the same in all the later titles in which it occurs.

*KKS* (6, p. 114) gives yet another title: 'Reporting to Heaven' or 'Memorialising the Emperor' *Sōdenraku/Zou-Tian yue* 奏天樂 and repeats the 'Supreme Abundance' alternative.

## History of pieces of this, or related, title

An important statement in *RMS* (1133) may account for the vagueness of the entry in *KKS* (*c.* 1238). 'This dance is not practised by the Koma-family, as I understand' (*RMS*, p. 34). The statement may account for the fact that the author of *KKS*, a member of that family, Koma no Chikazane, has so little to report. *RMS* adds that 'a person by the name of Norikyo, at the Yakushi-Temple, strikes [the waisted, two-headed, braced drum] *san-no-tsuzumi*, when he dances [it]. [The dance] may also be performed by Kiyosada. Up to the present [this] has not been looked into.'

In striking contrast to these statements – all expressed with verbs in the simple, declarative form, *not* in a past tense – *KKS* (a century later) states that 'some scores assert that this dance is to be sought among the family of Tamate no Norikiyo 玉手則清 ; however, his descendants among the present-day servants [of the Yakushiji?] are said not to have this knowledge'. An editorial note in the Nihon shisō taikei edition records that Tamate no Norikiyo was 78 years old at the time of his death in 1133, the date of completion of Ōga no Motomasa's *RMS*. Presumably *RMS* catches the end of a tradition of performance which had become extinct by the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Yakushi Temple itself was founded in the early eighth century and was dedicated to Bhaiṣajya-guru-vaiḍūrya-prabhāṣa 藥師瑠璃光如來, the Buddha of Medicine, who heals all sickness,

including that of ignorance. The Tamate clan, from the Nara district, were famous both as percussionists (*taiko* and *shōko*) and as dancers, and it may be significant that Norikiyo dances while playing *san-no-tsuzumi* – a drum not usually used in the *Tōgaku* ensemble. In addition to this reference to Tamate no Norikiyo, a previous statement in *KKS* alleges that the piece was 'made' by Ōto no Kiyogami (Fascicle 1, p. 13) and the dance by Ōto no Sanenawa.

*GKMR* mentions the existence of yet another alternative name, also cited in the prefaces to the string-parts (p. 36), 'Serving *or* Honouring *or* In Accord with Heaven' *Jōtenraku/Cheng Tian yue* 承天樂, and adds that this piece is mentioned in the *Wenxian tongkao* (completed *c.* 1308), which records that, on completion of 'The Palace of Exalted Purity' *Daqing gong* 大清宮, this piece (*Cheng Tian yue*) was made by Wei Dao 韋絢, President of the Court of Sacrifices *Taichang qing* 太常卿. Wei Dao is an historical personage, active in the Kaiyuan reign-period of the Tang (713–42), who became Junior Master to the Heir Apparent. Unfortunately, *GKMR* gives no indication of grounds for equating *Ichirōraku* with *Jōtenraku*.

The title *Cheng Tian yue* is listed in *JGL*; but neither this title nor that of *Yilong yue* occurs in *JFJ* or *YFZL*. Nevertheless, the antiquity of the title *Ichirōraku* is attested by Prince Sadayasu (Nangū) in quotations from his flute-score in prefaces to the string-parts (p. 36).

While there is as yet no evidence, other than the tradition, reflected in *GKMR*, and in the preface to the piece in *RSCY* (p. 36), that *Ichirōraku* is to be equated with *Cheng Tian yue*, there can be no doubt that the latter was an item in the Banquet-Music – the entertainment-music of the Tang Court. An extended passage in the 'Comprehensive Records' *TD* (Du You 杜佑, 801 or 803)[1] under the heading: 'Banquet-Music', may serve to introduce the Reader both to the *richness* of the Chinese sources of the Tang period in relation to the history of items in the court-entertainment repertory, and to the *difficulties* that may arise in the task of elucidation and orderly interpretation.

In the following extract from chapter 146 of the *Tongdian*, the material printed inset, and between round brackets, is Du You's own commentary to his text, assembled from earlier sources. The text is identical with that of the Northern Song (960–1126) printing, with preface by Li Han 李翰. *Seven* of the musics of the Nine Classes therein mentioned are named already in the *Sui Shu* (the completion of which extended from 639 to 656) and are the names of states. Together with the Banquet-Music, and the class *Qingshang* (a genre distinguished by modality), this made nine classes in all. The later addition of the music of Qočo (another oasis-state) made ten; but it is plain, from the list that follows the practical division of the repertory, into items performed by standing or sitting musicians respectively, that the focus of attention in the Tang was no longer on *regions*, but on particular *titles*, all of which may have been titles of suites rather than single melodies. Among these titles, the Reader will note the occurrence of 'Destroying Formations', familiar from Fascicle 1.

The repeated use of the verb 'to make' in relation to the rôle of three emperors, and one dowager-empress, in the creation of some of these items, warns against supposing that this same verb implies musical composition as we understand it. Indeed, also in the succeeding portion of Du You's original text, the fact that the Euphony-Officer's work was one of adaptation and arrangement is made plain. The rôle of this officer, as stressed by Gimm (1966, p. 138, n. 28) was not merely that of making certain of acoustical correctness and cosmological rectitude of pitches (and hence of modes and keys), but also to inspect the teaching arrangements for those performing the ritual music. It is noteworthy that the Chinese word so usually, and inadequately, translated as 'music' (*yue*) is used here, as in the *Tōgaku/Tang-yue* repertory, for *dance-spectacles with music.*

*Banquet-Music*: At the beginning of the Wude [reign-period (618–27)], since no one had as yet had leisure to make corrections[2] [to the repertory], for every Feast & Sacrifice, they played the music of the Nine Classes, according to the old system of the Sui [dynasty (581–618)].

(1. Banquet-Music; 2. *Qingshang*;[3] 3. Xiliang [Gansu]; 4. Founan [Champa]; 5. Gaoli [Korea]; 6. Qiuci [Kucha]; 7. Anguo [Buchara/Parthia]; 8. Sule [Kashgar]; 9. Kangguo [Samarkand].)

This continued until the sixteenth year of the Zhenguan [reign-period (642)], [when] in the eleventh month, at a Banquet for the Hundred Officials, they played [music of the] Ten Classes. Prior to this, Gaochang [Qočo] having been subjugated, its music was collected and transferred to the Court of Sacrifices. At this point, it was added [to the Nine Classes], making Ten Classes of Performers. Subsequently, these were divided to make Two Classes, Standing & Sitting.

(Of Performers of the Standing Class there were eight [sub-] classes: 1. *Anyue*; that which was made when Qi was pacified by the Later Zhou. In Zhou times it was called the 'City-Wall [or Walled-City] Dance; (2) 'Great Peace-music (also called 'Lion-Dance of the Five Regions'); (3) 'Destroying-Formations Music'; (4) 'Rewarding-Virtue Music'; (5) 'Great Conquest Music', also called 'Music of Eight Strings held together', made when Taizong pacified Liao. (6). 'First Full-Moon Music'; that which was made by Gaozong [650–83 (see Fascicle 2, p. 45)] (7). 'Music of Saintly Longevity'; that which was made by the Dowager Empress Wu [684–704]. (8). 'Glorious Saints'; that which was

[1] The date on which Du You offered his *Tongdian* to the Throne is uncertain. According to the *Jiu Tangshu*'s 'Annals of Dezong' *Dezong benji* 德宗本紀 the work was offered in the year Zhenyuan 17 – that is, 801; according to the *Tang Huiyao* (see Fascicle 3, p. 4), however, the work was offered in the year Zhenyuan 19, namely 803. This latter date is accepted in the year-by-year biography of Du You by Zheng Housheng 鄭鶴聲: *Du You nianpu* 杜佑年譜, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1932, pp. 96–107. The arguments of Zheng Housheng are still, however, ignored by certain more recent writers in favour of the earlier date.

[2] This statement is reminiscent of a similar comment at the beginning of the chapter on *Yayue* in the *Tang Huiyao* (Fascicle 3, p. 4).

[3] See 'Twelve ritual melodies of the T'ang dynasty' in *Studia memoriae Belae Bartók sacra*, Budapest, 1956, p. 170; also Gimm, 1966, p. 145, n. 1.

made by Gaozong. Of the Performers of the Sitting Class there were six [sub-] classes: 1. 'Banquet-Music'; made by Zhang Wenshou, [was] also divided into four sub-divisions: these were 'Auspicious Clouds' [a favourable omen], 'Goodness Rewarded', 'Destroying Formations', 'In Accord with Heaven'. 2. 'Music of Extended Longevity', made by the Dowager Empress Wu in the [similarly named] Changshou-years [(692–4)]. 3. 'Heaven-Selects Music', made by the Dowager Empress Wu in the [similarly named] Tianshou-years [(690–2)]. 4. 'Bird-song Myriad Years Music', made by the Dowager Empress Wu. 5. 'Dragon-Pool Music', made by Xuanzong. 6. 'Destroying-Formations Music', made by Xuanzong, [and] originating among the Performers of the Standing Division.)

In the Zhenguan [-period], auspicious clouds were seen and the waters of the [Yellow-] River cleared. The Euphony-Officer, Zhang Wenshou, making use of the idea of the old Vermilion Goose and Heavenly Horses[4], made the song: 'Auspicious Clouds & River Clear'. It was called 'The Banquet-Music' and was played by winds and strings. It served as first piece among all musical items [to be presented]. Nowadays it is the first item to be played at the First-Month Assembly.

For the 'Auspicious Clouds Dance', there were eight men, wearing flower-embroidered long gowns, five-coloured thin-silk breeches, multi-coloured 'cloud-caps', black leather boots.

For the 'Rewarding-Virtue Dance' there were four men wearing purple damask, long-sleeved jackets, cotton trousers, women's wigs.

For the 'Destroying-Formations Dance' there were four men in purple-damask long gowns, figured, with single-thickness pleats, dark-red, thin-silk trousers.

For the 'In-Accord-with-Heaven Dance' there were four men wearing purple long gowns, 'promoting-virtue caps', also with belts of gilt bronze.

The music used:

of jade lithophones, one frame;
of large iron-plate metallophones, one frame;
of transverse-flute[5] (?) zither, one;
of *zhu*,[6] one;
of horizontal harps, one;
of large [vertical] harps [without fore-pillar], one
of small *ditto*, one;
of large lutes [four-stringed], one;
of small *ditto*, one;
of large five-stringed lutes, one;
of small *ditto*, one;

[4] My friend and frequent adviser, Professor T. C. Hsü, drew attention to the existence of a 'Red-Egret' song in the Han dynasty. It occurs in a set of 21 items under the collective title of 'Songs with Short-Flute and Handbell' in a list of items from the Han repertory preserved in the Monograph on Music of the Jinshu (Zhonghua shuju edn, Beijing, 1974, j. 23, p. 701: 短簫鐃歌 ). Professor Hsü was also able to lead me to a song-text (among the 'Nineteen Items of Songs for State Sacrifice and Worship', in the Ritual & Music Monograph of the Han History – *Hanshu*, j. 32, *Liyue-zhi* 2, 1060a, Zhonghua shuju edn, Beijing, 1964), entitled 'The Heavenly Horses Come!'

The existence of these two items as pieces of music led me first to the notion that two *pieces* were at some time combined; that it was *this* precedent that Zhang Wenshou followed; and that 'Auspicious Clouds' and 'River-Waters Clear' also were pre-existing pieces of music. The version of this passage in the 'Old Tang History' (*Jiu Tangshu*, 1976 *Yinyue* i, j. 28, p. 1046) shows, however, that this cannot be the meaning of the text. 'In the fourteenth year [Zhenguan 14=640], there was an appearance of auspicious clouds [and] the waters of the [Yellow] River cleared. Zhang Wenshou, making use of the idea of the old Vermilion Goose [and] Heavenly Horses, made the song "Auspicious Clouds & River Clear". It was called "The Banquet-Music".

十四年、有景雲見、河水清。張文收採古朱鴈天馬之義、制景雲河清歌 名曰讌樂。

The *appearance* of brightly coloured, auspicious clouds, *and* the clearing of the river waters, both in a particular year of the Zhenguan reign-period, were evidently *observed* natural phenomena of good omen. It is indeed a saying in Chinese that the Yellow River runs clear once in a thousand years. The fact that the text has *he*: 河 for 'river' and not *jiang*: 江, supports the view that it is indeed the Yellow River (the Huanghe 黃河) to which reference is made, rather than the Yangzijiang 陽子江. The former is normally brown from the quantity of loess in suspension that it sweeps down to the sea. If the text speaks of observed auspicious phenomena, the parallel referred to must also be a previous occasion when two auspicious omens were conjoined. From the text, this occurred when, in some sense, Vermilion Goose and Heavenly Horses appeared simultaneously. To deal with the latter first: The divine horses of the West were both a legend and a reality for the Chinese from the Han until the Tang, when 'blood-sweating' horses were sent from Farghāna (modern Khokand) to the Court of Xuanzong, in the eighth century. This is recorded in the *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (1005–13) as having occurred in the twenty-ninth year of the Kaiyuan reign-period: 'In the first month of the twenty-ninth year [741], horses were offered, sent as a gift by the King of Farghāna [*b'wat/ɣân-/nâ* (K. 276 h, 139 t, 350 a)]' 二十九年正月拔汗那王遣使獻馬 (1960, j. 971, 13a). (See Schafer, 1963, p. 59ff.)

In a later volume, *The Vermilion Bird*, Professor Schafer (1967, p. 261ff) examined many aspects of an avian 'divine messenger', 'for which the sacred gates of Ch'ang-an were named'. One such bird 'flew down in 776 to confirm the good reign of T'ai Tsung [Taizong]'. But of the real birds that might have given rise to the conception of an 'auspicious sign of divine blessing' none is a Red Goose or Red Egret. Professor Hsü suggests that the name 'Red Goose' was *either* an alternative, *or* the author's memory faltered. Both dates (741 and 776) are too late, by more than a century, however, for these to be the auspicious events that paralleled those of the Zhenguan period. It is nevertheless curious that two *musical* equivalents of 'Vermilion Goose/Egret' and 'Heavenly Horses' should in fact have existed already in the Han dynasty.

The character of the latter song-text is so remarkable that a note by way of digression is added at the end of this fascicle (p. 112), even though it seems certain that Zhang Wenshou was in no sense modelling his 'Banquet-Music' in part on this piece.

[5] *Wenxian tongkao*, in an equivalent passage relating to Zhang Wenshou's creation and the orchestra that accompanied 'The Banquet-Music', has 搊 instead of 笛, making better sense: 'a finger-plucked zither' (*WXTK*, j. 145, 146).

[6] One of the least known Chinese zithers.

of 'blown leaves'[7], one;
of large [free-reed] mouth-organs, one;
of small *ditto*, one
of large double-reed, cylindrical pipes, one;
of small *ditto*, one
of large panpipes, one;
of small *ditto*, one;
of principal bronze cymbals, one [pair];
of secondary ditto, one [pair];
of long, transverse-flutes, one;
of vertical, notched-flutes (*chiba/shakuhachi*), one;
of short, transverse flutes, one;
of pole-drums[8], one;
of joined-drums, two;
of clapper-drums, two;
of stick-beaten drums, two;
of singers, two.

Of this music, only 'Auspicious Clouds' has been preserved until the present; the remaining [items] have all been lost. ['Present', in this context, may, of course, refer to a time prior to *TD*.]

讌樂武德初未暇改作每讌享因隋舊制奏九部樂
一讌樂 二清商 三西涼 四扶南 五高麗 六龜玆 七安國 八疎勒 九康國 至貞觀十六年十一月宴百
寮奏十部先是伐高昌収其樂付太常至是增為十
部妓其後分為立坐二部 立部伎有八部 一安[9]樂後周平齊所作
周代謂之城舞 二太平樂亦謂之五方師子舞
三破陣樂四慶善樂五大定樂亦謂之八紘同軌樂太宗平遼時作也六上元樂高宗所造
七聖壽樂武太后所作八光聖樂高宗所造坐部伎有六部一讌樂張文収所作又分為
四部有景雲善慶破陣承天等二長壽樂武太后長壽年所作三天授樂武太后天授年所
作四鳥歌萬歲樂武太后所造五龍池樂玄宗所作六破陣樂玄宗作生於立部伎也
貞觀中景雲見河水清協律郎張文収探古朱鴈天馬
之義製景雲河清歌名曰讌樂奏之管絃為諸樂之首 今元會第一奏者是
景雲舞八人花錦袍五色綾袴綵雲冠烏皮靴慶善樂
四人紫綾大袖絲布袴假髻破陣樂舞四人緋綾袍錦
衿褾緋綾袴承天樂舞四人紫袍進德冠並金銅帶
樂用玉磬一架 大方響一架 笛箏一 筑一 卧箜篌一
大箜篌一 卜箜篌一 大琵琶一 小琵琶一 大五絃琵琶一
小五絃琵琶一吹葉一大笙一小笙一大篳篥一小篳篥一
大簫一 小簫一 正銅鈸一 和銅鈸一 長笛一 尺八一
短笛一 揩鼓一 連鼓二 鞨鼓二 浮鼓二 歌二
此樂唯景雲舞近存餘並亡

Coming now to Zhang Wenshou's 'Banquet-Music', we see that the title 'In Accord with Heaven' is present in Du You's primary text, and it is associated with a note on dancers and their costumes. Reading through the list of instruments specified for use in Zhang Wenshou's 'Banquet-Music', it is difficult not to feel saddened, that the present *Gagaku* orchestra employed in *Tōgaku* performances has undergone so copious a reduction in size. The frequent specification of *pairs* of larger and smaller strings (lutes, harps) and larger and smaller winds (mouth-organs, double-reed cylindrical pipes, transverse-flutes, panpipes) suggests, perhaps, that octave-doubling by like instruments was a general practice in this ensemble.

A *Cheng Tian yue* is present in *JGL* in the list of items in the *Taicou gong* mode 太簇宮. This should mean that the piece made use of a Lydian octave-species, the final of which lay at the distance of a whole tone (two pitchpipe degrees) above the fundamental of the entire modal system, *Huang-zhong*.

If the statement at the end of the passage from the *TD*, that only 'Auspicious Clouds' still survived, is correct, *either Ichirōraku* is not *Cheng Tian yue or* the piece had passed into the repertory of the Japanese Court before the Mission to Tang of 838. In anticipation, it may be noted here and now that 'River-Waters' *Kasuiraku/Heshui yue* (p. 55) may well be a survival from 'Auspicious Clouds & River Clear', the first item of *The Banquet-Music* devised by Zhang Wenshou.

## Prefatory comments in the manuscript sources

### *KF/HSFRK*

'One Time'
Slow. New Music
●壹弄樂延・新樂
Four times. Drum-beats of each separate time ten.
・四条拍子条別十
There is no dance.
無舞

### *SSSTF*

'One Time'
Ten drum-beats
一弄樂 拍子十

[7] An entry in the *Yueshu*, Foreign Division *Hubu* 胡部, j. 130, 7b, suggests that this was a type of coiled-leaf shawm, in which the tip of the coil acts as a double reed on flattening. 'In the Han period there was a thing called a Blown-Penis*, a kind of *jia* [a shawm, used for signalling purposes]. Its shape was that of a large kind of horse-penis [the text is inverted and reads 'penis-horse thing']. Nowadays herdboys coil a rush-leaf and blow it.
漢有吹鞭之號笳之類也其狀大類鞭馬者今牧童捲蘆吹之。
The Popular Division *Subu* 俗部, j. 132, 2a, includes an entry relating to a Peach-bark Pipe *Taopi guan* 桃皮管. This too was made by coiling the material. The connection with double-reed pipes is made explicit in an alternative name: Peach-bark *bili/hichiriki* 桃皮觱篥. An item called a Whistling-leaf *xiaoye* or *suye* is entered on p. 3a 嘯葉, but the edition notes a hiatus in the text at this point.

* This word more commonly means a whip (*bian*); but the woodcut in the *Yueshu* looks more like a penis than any practicable whip. Is it possible that grooms, like whalers with the corresponding organ of the whale, would at times skin and tan a stallion's penis, and fit a double-reed into the opening of the urethra? As to the 'blown leaf' itself, such simple shawms are commonly used to produce only one, or a variable, pitch. Alternatively, the 'blown leaf' might have been a leaf held lightly between tongue and hard-palate (see L.E.R. Picken, *Folk Musical Instruments of Turkey*, 1975, p. 366), by means of which any tune can be played in any key by a sufficiently skilled performer.

[8] The precise nature of these and the following drums has not been determined. The *Yueshu* (*c.* 1101) would be a first place to look.

[9] Insert 國.

***JCYR, SGYR***

'One Time'
Of 弄 some make 隆.
壹弄樂 弄或作隆
Ten drum-beats. To be played four times. In all, 40 drum-beats.
拍` 子十可` 彈四反合拍子四十
During the last time, strike 'three-times' beats.
終` 帖打三度拍子
Middle-sized piece.
中` 曲

New music. Myōsen's *Transverse-Flute Score* states[10]: 'Also called 'Responding to Heaven'. Ōto no Kiyogami made it.
新樂 明` 遷橫笛譜云 亦名 承天樂 大戸清上作

*RSCY* shortens to 'Myōsen's *Flute-Score*' and 'Kiyogami'.

[10] Myōsen/Meisen, commonly referred to as 'Kōfukuji Meisen' 興福寺明暹, a monk of the Promoting-Blessedness Temple (Nara), was a Heian Flute-Master of the Fujiwara clan. As a pupil of the priest Enken (Owari no Tokuwaza 尾張得業圓憲) his playing attracted the attention of the Horikawa Emperor (1086–1106; see Fascicle 1. p. 56). 'Scores of Korean pieces from the important treasury of selections from The Singing Dragon, Newly Edited' *Shinsen ryūginshō yōroku – Komakyoku-fu* 新撰龍吟抄要録－高麗曲譜 may be a survival from the otherwise seemingly lost flute-score, jointly edited by Enken and Meisen (see the article コーフクジメイセン in *Dai jimmei jiten* 大人名事典 (1938–42), and item 8 in the second essay by Professor Hirade Hisao 平出久雄 in *Tōyō Ongaku Kenkyū* 10, 11, p. 54, 1952: *Yamanoi Kageaki-shi gagaku zōsho mokuroku (chū)* 山井景昭氏雅樂藏書目録(中). In the copy of the above-mentioned manuscript preserved by the Yamanoi family, and edited by Ōga no Motomasa, the *Tōgaku*-section retains only a list of titles of pieces. From the association of Meisen with the Horikawa Emperor, it is evident that his flute-score must have been compiled subsequent to the first attested copying of the *Hakuga no fue-fu* in the mid-eleventh century. (A.J.M., L.E.R.P.)

## 'ONE TIME' *or* 'SUPREMELY EXALTED' (*SGYR*: primary version)

[1] *SGYR* (right): *Katsura-fu*

[2] *SGYR* (right): *Katsura-fu*

[1] *JCYR* ligature supplied

[2] *JCYR* ligature supplied

[3] *SGYR* (right): *Katsura-fu*

[4] *SGYR* (right): *Katsura-fu*

**'ONE TIME'**
**(*SGYR*: secondary version)**

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

*KKS* notes that a *Prelude* once existed but is now extinct; furthermore, 'with regard to this *Broaching*, Nangū [Prince Sadayasu] states: "Begin to play it with the *b*′-hole" (existing scores all begin on *d*′). The same text adds: 'When beats are to be augmented, "three-times" beats are to be struck.' The piece is also said to be played in the standard *proportio*, compound-metre: *tadabyōshi*. The identification of the piece as a *Broaching* extends the number of instances of such movements in $\frac{4}{2}$ measures.

The piece now consists of five musical lines, each of two measures' duration, cadencing successively on *d*′, *d*″, *d*′, *e*″, *d*′, in minim/half-note duration. No single line or measure is repeated, but half-measures are frequently repeated, either at the same pitch, or transposed up by a fourth or fifth. The latter halves of measures 5 and 7 are identical, and those of 1 and 3, virtually so. Again, the latter halves of measures 2 and 6 are identical, while those of measures 4 and 8 are transpositions of these – in the lute-part to the fifth and fourth below, respectively. The latter half of measure 9 is, in effect, a transposition of that of measures 1 and 3 to the fifth above. The movement displays extensive use of the descending appoggiatura as a principal decorative element, particularly in the string-parts.

Prince Sadayasu's requirement that the flute begin with the *b*-hole makes perhaps for a smoother opening to the first bar; but it is incompatible with the stated Mixolydian mode, in which *b* should occur as an auxiliary only. In fact, as with other pieces classed in the *Ichikotsu-chō* mode-key group, the mode shifts between 123.56 (1=*d*) modality, with *g* and *c*♮ as auxiliaries, and 23.56.1 modality (2=*d*) with *f*♯ and *b* as auxiliaries.

# 13

# 'All Gold' *or* 'Abundant Gold'
# *Ikinraku* or *Ikkinraku/Yijin yue* 一/壹/溢金樂

## The title: its significance and history

As with the title of the previous item, in the absence of context, *Ikinraku* is difficult to interpret. *RMS* spells it in the *katakana* syllabary so that we can be certain of its pronunciation in the early twelfth century: *Ikinraku*. The piece consists of ten measures of eight crotchets/quarter-notes (*RMS*: 'Of drum-beats, ten') and there is no dance. *RMS* comments: 'Its condition is the same as that of *Kasuiraku*' (see p. 52) referring, presumably, to the number of drum-beats and the absence (already in 1133) of a dance. At the outset, and in parallel with the spelling of *Ikinraku*, *RMS* states that the piece is also called *Shōwaraku/Jōwaraku/Chengguo yue* 承果樂 – a title that cannot be meaningfully translated as it stands. Since, however, the pronunciation of 果 in the dialect of Changan (Karlgren, 1957 351 a-b) was *kuâ:*, and that of 和 (Karlgren, 8 e-f) was *ɣuâ*, the alternative title may be another version of 承和樂, to which attention has already been directed (p. 32). Indeed, *WMRJS*, substituting the homophone 溢 (full, abundant; to overflow; a handful) for the first lexigraph: 溢金樂 continues: 'one [source] calls it *Shōwaraku*'. *Dainihonshi* 大日本史 (1928), Ritual Music Section, offers yet another alternative title: *Jōtenraku/Cheng Tian yue* 承天樂 (p. 32). *KKS* (6, p. 114) also mentions 承果樂 and 溢金樂 as alternatives, adds that the piece is 'New Music' – perhaps originating in the Sui or Tang dynasties – and goes on to say that, while the music was made by Wanibe no Ōtamaro, the dance, made by Inukami no Korenaru 犬上是成, is extinct. A note in the Nihon shisō taikei edition records that Ōtamaro, who studied flute with Ōto no Kiyogami, died in 865 at the age of 68.

It is plain that the history of the piece in Japan dates at least from the first period of *Tōgaku* performance that followed the return of the Mission of 838 in 841. The *HPGS* in *GKR* quotes the *Ruijū sō-fu* itself as source for the statement that Wanibe no Ōtamaro made *Ikinraku*, and that the dance was made by Inukami no Korenaru. The tradition must then have existed already in the time of Fujiwara no Morozane (1042–1101), author of the *Ruijū sō-fu* (Fascicle 1, p. 56).

While Chinese sources include the alternative titles *Chenghe yue* 承和樂 and *Cheng Tian yue* 承天樂, these sources (*JFJ*, *JGL*, *YFZL*, etc.) give no hint of the significance of the title *Ikinraku*; and the history of this piece must be regarded, for the time being, as beginning in Japan, with the recorded comment of Prince Sadayasu (p. 40), and with the traditions linking it with the pupil of Ōto no Kiyogami, Ōtamaro, who 'made' it at the beginning of the Tenchō 天長 reign-period (824–33) (see *KKS*, p. 114). If this date is correct, the piece existed in Japan before the return of the Mission of 838 in 841; and the possibility of its being truly the creation of Wanibe no Ōtamaro is increased.

## Prefatory comments in the manuscript sources

***KF/HSFRK***

'Abundant Gold' Slow
溢金樂延

New Music. Four times. Drum-beats for each separate time, ten. There is no dance. One [source] states that the title is 'Continuing Harmony'
・新樂・四条拍子条別十・無舞・
一説名承果樂

### *SSSTF*

'All Gold' Of drum-beats, ten
一金樂　拍子十

### *JCYR, SGYR*

'Abundant Gold' One title is 'Continuing Harmony'
溢金樂　一名承果樂
Of drum-beats, ten. Nangū's and Chōshūkyō's Transverse-Flute Scores state: 'To be played six times. Total drum-beats, 60. In the last time strike three-times beats.' *Ruijū sō-fu* states: 'To be played four times.'
拍` 子十 南` 宮長秋卿横笛譜云可吹六反 合拍子六十 終`
帖打三度拍子 類` 聚箏譜云可彈四反
This was made by Ōtamaro. Inukami no Korenasu made the dance, but it has vanished.
是大田麿所作也犬上是成作舞而絶畢
Nangū's Score states that the dance was made by Ōto no Sanenawa.
南` 宮譜云傳作大戸真縄
Middle-sized piece. New music.
中` 曲　　新` 樂

### *RSCY*

'Abundant Gold' New music. Middle-sized piece.
溢金樂 新樂 中曲
(After preliminary details as in *JCYR* and *SGYR*, but without citing the authority of Prince Sadayasu and Hakuga, *RSCY* continues)
Ribu-Ō's *Ryūteki-fu* states: 'To be played six times. Nōso Dainagon no Sūkai's Flute-Score states: 'To be played four times.' This was made by Ōtamaro. Inukami Hashinasu ['Korenasu' correct] made the dance; but the said dance was interrupted in the course of events. The *Ri-en-fu* states that Ōto no Sanenawa made the dance-piece.
吏部王龍笛譜云可吹六反農祖大内言崇俔笛譜云可吹四反 是大田麿所作也犬上走成作舞但件舞絶于世了吏園譜云大戸真縄 作舞曲

## 'ALL GOLD' *or* 'ABUNDANT GOLD'
## (*JCYR*, *SGYR*: primary versions)

[1] *JCYR:* mordent supplied

[2] *JCYR:* ligature supplied

[3] *JCYR:* mordent supplied

[4] *JCYR:* misplaced intracolumnary dot

[5] *JCYR:* ligature supplied

[1] *SGYR* (right): *Katsura-fu*

[2] *SGYR* (right): ' one version states'

[3] *SGYR* (right): *Katsura-fu*

[4] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

[6] *JCYR:* mordent supplied

[7] *JCYR:* misplaced supernumary 百

[5] *SGYR* (right): ' one version states'

**'ALL GOLD' *or* 'ABUNDANT GOLD'**
**(*JCYR, SGYR*: secondary versions)**

[1] *JCYR:* sharpening dot supplied

[2] *JCYR* (left):

[3] *JCYR:* ligature supplied

[4] *JCYR:* slur supplied

[5] *JCYR:* sharpening dot supplied

[6] *JCYR:* slur supplied

[7] *JCYR:* slur supplied

[1] *SGYR* (left):


## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

As with the previous item, this piece also consists of five musical lines, each of two measures of eight crotchets/quarter-notes, successively cadencing on *a'*, *e''*, *d''*, *a'*, *d''*, in minim/half-note values. As in the case of *Ichirōraku* (p. 32) no musical line is repeated. Measures 2 and 8 are virtually identical; certain half-measures are identical, and other pairs of half-measures are related as an original to its transposition to the fourth above. The piece is integrated by isorhythmic figures throughout. All these features are shared, not only with *Ichirōraku*, but with other small pieces in the *Ichikotsu-chō* repertory; and, as will be seen later, it is understandable if, for musical reasons, titles were at times confused.

# 14

# 'Continuing Harmony'
# *Shōwaraku/Chenghe yue* 承和樂

## The title, its history and significance

The discussion of this title is complicated by the fact that *Shōwa* or *Jōwa/Chenghe* is both the name of a Japanese reign-period (Jōwa-nengō 承和年号 834–47) and the title of two items of the Chinese 'Refined Music' (*Yayue* 雅樂) of the Tang period.

Whether or not the piece of this title that survives was Chinese in origin or not, the title itself is certainly Chinese. *GKMR* refers to the *Monograph on Ritual Music* in the 'New Tang History' *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, to the account of the 'Refined Music of Great Tang' *Da Tang yayue* 大唐雅樂, and to the composition of 'Twelve harmonies' *Shier he* 十二和 – the last of which was 'Continuing Harmony' – by that same Zhang Wenshou, creator of 'The Banquet Music' (p. 33). Two lyrics of this title are preserved: (a) one of eight lines of four lexigraphs, to accompany the Offering of First Fruits in the Temple of Agriculture: 'For escorting away the Spirits, use 'Continuing Harmony' 送神用〔承〕和 (承 is editorially restored in the text); (b) one of four lines of seven lexigraphs, for use in the Temple of Sacrifices to Heaven 郊廟, to be sung 'when the Heir-Apparent pours a libation in person . . . when the Imperial Heir-Apparent walks (*xing* 行) use "Continuing Harmony" 皇太子親釋奠 . . . 皇太子行用承和

The song-text cited by *GKMR* is this latter text. Both texts are also to be found (along with lyrics for the entire *Yayue* repertory of the Tang) in *YFSJ* (1: 4–8)

萬國以貞光上嗣
三善茂德表重輪
視膳寢門遵要道
高闕崇賢引正人

The myriad States with unflinching Loyalty glorify the Heir.
Through The Three Duties, and by his varied Virtues, he makes manifest his manifold Rule.
Inspecting the sacrificial Viands at the Door to the Rear of the Temple, and obedient to the Path prescribed,
As The Exalted Ones retire [through the Portal of] Revered Excellence, he leads the Upright.[1]

(No precedents exist for the translation of this highly specialized type of verse, characteristic of Chinese ritual hymns. The above must be regarded as a first attempt only. Capitalization serves to convey the stately formality of the original; it has no equivalent in the Chinese text. The original tune will have consisted of four measures of eight beats, the last monosyllabic word being sustained for two beats at the end of each line of the text. In Archaic Chinese, lines 2 and 4 rhymed, as indeed they continued to do in the dialect of Changan: *li̯uĕn*/lun (Karlgren, 1957, 470 a) and *ńźi̯ĕn*/ren (ibid., 388a-e), in the early Tang period).

[1] This tentative translation owes much to the comments of Professor T.C. Hsü – my guide when other Sinologists withdraw in modest but unhelpful silence.

Regarding 'Continuing Harmony', the *Tang Huiyao* (*Yayue* 上) states that '*Cheng he* is to be perfomed when the Heir-Apparent leaves or enters'. 皇太子軒懸出入。奏承和。 Again it is to be emphasized that there is no evidence that a piece of this title ever formed part of the repertory of court-*entertainment* music in China. There is no piece of this title in the lists of *JFJ*, *JGL*, or in *YFZL*.

Notwithstanding *GKMR*'s citation of passages from Chinese sources, the prefaces to the scores (p. 48), and other and earlier Japanese handbooks, include no reference to a Chinese origin. *JCYR* and *SGYR* state on the authority of Morozane's *RJSF* (Fascicle 1, p. 36), that Ōto no Kiyogami made 'it' [the music] and Mishima Takekura 'made the dance'. According to Prince Sadayasu, however, the dance was made by Ōto no Sanenawa. *KKS* (3, p. 66, **15**) enlarges on its allocation in time to the Jōwa reign-period, stating that it was performed at the Feast of Yellow Chrysanthemums, and that one tradition attributes its 'making' to the Emperor Nimmyō. The alternative title, preserved by *KKS*, 'Winter Brilliance' 冬明樂, might well refer to that occasion. *KKS* adds the detail that there was once a *Prelude* also, lost however, in 'mid-antiquity' 序アリケレドモ中古絶之. By implication, therefore, the piece that survives was regarded as a *Broaching*. *HPGS* also supports the view that the piece had a local origin, and quotes from *Tekisetsu* (see p. 22, n. 1) stating that it was the work of the Emperor Nimmyō, and was a piece for the nobility (位樂也). The passage continues: 'Music of the first year of Jōwa [834], made by Seibun *Daijūjin*, Junior Fifth Rank, Lower Grade, and named after the reign-period . . .' 承和元年樂所預從五位上大中臣成文作之、以年號爲名云云

Finally (*KKS*, p. 89), the piece is to be played in *proportio* (*tadabyōshi*), and a *Gigaku* version 妓樂 by Ōwari no Norinasu 尾張則成 once existed. (*Gigaku/Jiyue*, literally 'Female-Performers' Music' is the term that once covered a now lost repertory, commonly of masked interludes, perhaps influenced by the Korean genre of masked theatre.) This version appears to have been used as introit to 'Drunken Sogdians' *Suiko* 醉胡 (*Gigaku*).

No Japanese evidence suggests that the court musicians ever supposed this piece to be a borrowing from the Tang Imperial Refined Music. It is doubtful that the members of a Japanese mission would have been permitted to borrow any item of court-ceremonial music – indeed it is perhaps unlikely that foreigners would have been permitted to assist at libationary ceremonies, governed by the Royal Musical Regulations 唐釋奠宣王樂章. In any case, neither of the two surviving song-texts for *Chenghe* could conveniently be sung to the piece *Shōwaraku* as it survives. One lyric (eight lines of four lexigraphs) demands eight measures of four beats; the other (four lines of seven lexigraphs), four measures of eight beats. *Shōwaraku* in fact consists of ten measures of eight; and no decorative dilatation could convert either of these musical structures to those dimensions.

In this instance, it would seem reasonable to accept the view that the piece was indeed 'composed' in Japan, and by Ōto no Kiyogami. That it was indeed a *piéce d'occasion* is even suggested, perhaps, by its musical character, composed, as it is, of familiar formulae (p. 51).

## Prefatory comments in the manuscript sources

### *KF/HSFRK*

'Continuing Harmony' Slow. New music. Four times. Drum-beats of each separate time, ten. There is a dance. When emerging and retiring use the *Modal* Prelude.
承和樂延・新樂・四条拍子条別十・有舞・出入調子

### *SSSTF*

'Continuing Harmony' Of drum-beats, ten.
承和樂 拍子十

### *JCYR, SGYR*

'Continuing Harmony' Of drum-beats, ten. Should be played six times. Total of drum-beats, in all, 60. In the final time, strike 'three-times' beats.
承和樂拍` 子十 可` 弾六反 合` 拍子六十 終` 帖打三度拍子

Nowadays[1] play four times. At times [2] when playing two times, augment *taiko* in last time. When dancers emerge and retire, use the *Modal* Prelude.
今`[1]世弾四反[2] 時` 弾二反終帖上大鼓舞出入用調子

Middle-sized piece. New Music. *Ruijū sō-fu* states: 'That which was made by Ōto no Kiyogami. Mishima no Takakura made the dance.'
中` 曲 新` 樂 類聚箏譜云大戸清上所作 三` 嶋武蔵作舞

Nangu's transverse-flute score states: 'The dance was made by Ōto no Sanenawa.'
南宮横笛譜云舞作大戸真繩

### RSCY

The content of this preface is the same (as is the wording) as *JCYR*, save for the attribution of the making of the dance, by Ōto no Sanenawa, to Ribu-Ō's flute-score – that is, to Prince Sadayasu's score (Nangū's score).

[1] *SGYR* has ひ (!)
[2] *SGYR* has 略時 'When abbreviating, play twice.'

## 'CONTINUING HARMONY'
## (*JCYR, SGYR*: primary versions)

[1] *SSSTF* (right) '*d*'' struck briefly' To the right are four *katakana*-signs *itotashi* or *kitotashi* キトタシ or キトタシ, not understood.

[1] *JCYR* ligature supplied

[2] *JCYR* note (*f*♯′) supplied

[1] *SGYR* (left) ‘ one version states’

**'CONTINUING HARMONY'**
**(*JCYR*, *SGYR*: secondary versions)**

[1] *JCYR* (left):

[1] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

[2] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

[3] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

A first examination reveals a tune in five musical lines, each of two measures of eight crotchets/quarter-notes, ten measures in all, with a single conspicuous repetition: the second measure of the third line is also the second measure of the fifth line. Up to the seventh measure, the version preserved by the older mouth-organ source (*KF/HSFRK*) is hexatonic. In the seventh measure, the flattened seventh of the Mixolydian heptatonic note-set is disclosed as a primary note, approached and quitted by leap.

A closer look at the structure shows several identities between half-measures, such as have been recorded in other pieces considered in this fascicle. Sustained line-finals are present at the end of lines 1, 3, and 5: *d'*, *d''*, *d''*, respectively; and lines 2 and 4 end in the same four-note turn: *g'' f♯'' e'' f♯''*, above and below *f♯''*. Again, as in other tunes, there are instances of tonal transposition of half-measures (to the third and to the fifth below, for example). The quaver-figure of the first half of measures 6 and 10 is shared with other tunes in the *Ichikotsu-chō* – with 'The Wine-Puppet' (p. 88) and with 'Martial Virtue' (p. 106), for example.

The constitution of this piece can be demonstrated by allotting a bold capital letter to each measure in alphabetical sequence and discriminating between half-measures (where required by repetition elsewhere) by superscript numerals. Thus measure **A** consists of $A^1$ and $A^2$. Transposition of a half-measure to a third, fourth, fifth or seventh below is marked by subscript numerals, for example, $A^2_3$. The resulting scheme is set out below:

| | *Measures* | | | | *Line Cadences* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *musical lines* | **A** | | **B** | | *d'* |
| | $A^1$ | $A^2$ | $B^1$ | $B^2$ | |
| | **C** | | **D** | | |
| | $C^1$ | $C^2$ | $D^1$ | $D^2$ | |
| | **E** | | **F** | | *d''* |
| | $E^1$ | $A^2_3$ | $F^1$ | $F^2$ | |
| | **G** | | **H** | | |
| | $G^1$ | $C^2_4$ | $D^1$ | $D^2$ | |
| | **I** | | **J** | | *d''* |
| | $C^1$ | $C^2_7$ | $F^1$ | $F^2$ | |

[2] *JCYR* (left): 'one version states'

[3] *JCYR*: slur supplied

[4] *JCYR*: sharpening dot supplied

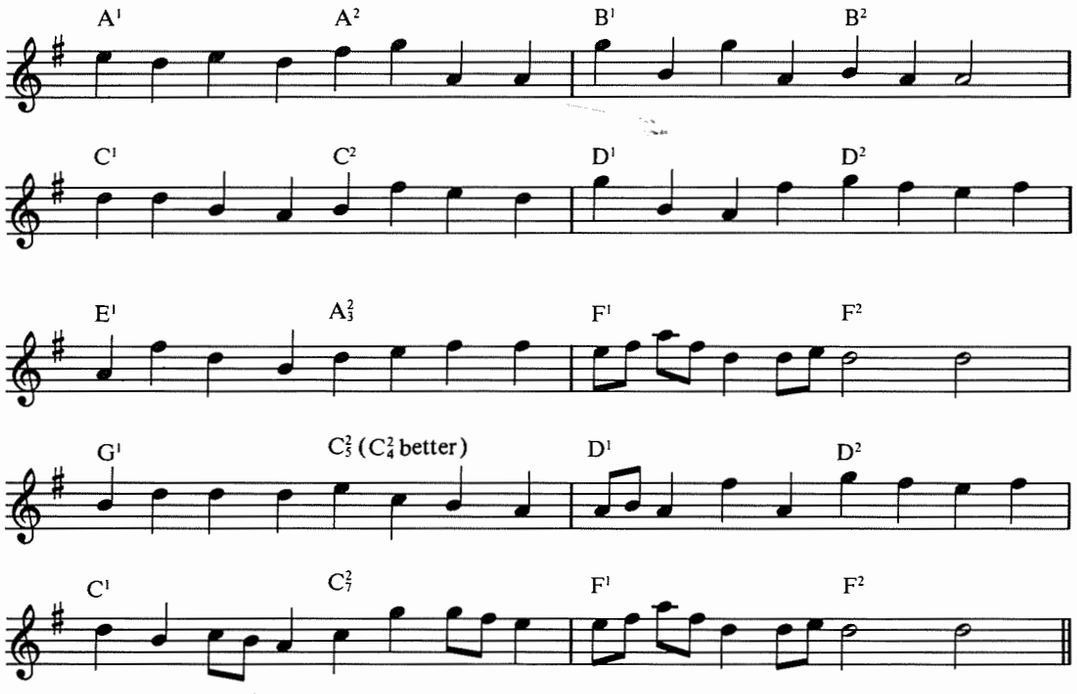
[5] *JCYR*: slur ignored

[6] *JCYR*: slur supplied

[4] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

[5] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

A simplified version of the piece (by N.J.N.), identifying letters and numerals in the preceding scheme, is shown here:



The opening half-measure, A¹, will be recognized as the repeating cadential formula so frequently encountered in other items from the *Ichikotsu-chō* repertory (Fascicles 1–3 and this fascicle, pp. 4–6).

The difference in degree of embellishment between *KF/HSFRK* and *SSSTF* is particularly striking in respect of this item; and the prevalence of the archaic Chinese feature of movement in notes of equal duration in five out of ten measures is notable in a piece very possibly composed in Japan before the middle of the ninth century. That the piece was assembled from pre-existing ingredients is indeed suggested by the incorporation of half-measures known from other items. Indeed, the first two measures in their entirety might be regarded as a variation on the first two measures of 'The New King of Luoling' *Shin Raryō-Ō/Xin Luoling Wang*, to be examined in Fascicle 6.

# 15

# 'River-Waters'
# *Kasuiraku/Heshui yue* 河水樂

## The title, its significance and history

None of the prefaces to scores offer information relating to the origin of this piece or to the meaning of the title. At the outset, however, it seems likely that the name is connected with that of the piece which formed the first item in *The Banquet-Music* devised by Zhang Wenshou (p. 35) in the time of the Taizong Emperor (p. 00), in celebration of two auspicious natural events: the appearance of brightly coloured clouds of good omen, and the clearing of the waters of the Yangzi river: the *Jingyun heqing ge* 景雲河清歌. The phenomenon of the clearing of the river-waters was referred to as *heshui qing* 河水清, and *heshui/kasui* may well be a contraction of *heshui qing*. It will be recalled that the author of the *Tongdian*, Du You, affirmed that the 'Auspicious-Clouds Dance' was the only item of the original *Banquet-Music* that survived (see p. 35). This title, *Jingyun wu*, may in its turn be yet another abbreviation of the complete original title, *Jingyun heqing ge*; and it is of interest that the *song* (*ge* 歌) was also associated with a *dance*: *Jingyun wu*.

The first Japanese text noted as linking *Kasuiraku* with the 'Song of Auspicious Clouds and River Clear' is the *Dainihon-shi* which, quoting *Wamyōshō* 和名鈔, refers to Zhang Wenshou's creation in the time of Emperor Gaozong,[1] and suggests that the title 'River-Waters' might perhaps be a corruption of 'River Clear' 疑河清之訛. (This statement is not taken from the entry concerning *Kasuiraku* in *WMRJS*.) In the light of the history of Zhang Wenshou's piece, we are perhaps justified in suggesting that the *Tōgaku* title has arisen by abbreviation of an original title, rather than by writing 'water' instead of 'clear'.

*KKS* (6, p. 114) reports a saying of Tsumori no Arimoto 津守有基 (d. 1077) that if this piece is played at a time of praying for rain, rain is sure to fall. 'Recently [that is, presumably, at the beginning of the thirteenth century], it has been used [by *junshi* 遵師 and others] in ascending to the high throne *kōza* 高座 [at a Buddhist Memorial Service].'

The *Honpōgaku-setsu* (*GKR* 31, p. 922) quotes from a 'flute-saying' (*Tekisetsu* 笛説):[2]

> In India there is a famous 'clear-waters river'. The colour of the river-water is very green. The sound of its flowing is like this piece. Yō-on, imitating its sound, made this piece, it is said.
>
> 天竺有名青水河之河、水色極緑也。其流音同此曲也。陽音象其音作此曲云云

Some remininscence of the original function of the piece in China in commemorating auspicious natural phenomena may have led to the association with rain-making, referred to by *KKS*; but the green Indian river of *GKR* reads like a fable invented to explain an evocative, but cryptic, title in the absence of any memory of the real history of the piece – or at least of a piece related in name – in Tang China.

In Chinese sources, no form of this title occurs in *JFJ*, for example; but *JGL* lists 'Auspicious Clouds' *Jingyun* 景雲

[1] Erroneously, since he in fact composed the piece under Taizong in 640.

[2] There is no reason to suppose this is a reference to the scores of Nangū or Chōshūkyō.

among pieces in the *Taicou Gong* 太簇宮 division of the assembled items in the *Gong*-mode: *Zhugong qu* 諸宮曲.

## Prefatory comments in the manuscript sources

### *KF/HSFRK*

'River-Waters' Slow. New music. There is no dance. Of drum-beats, ten.
河水樂$_{\text{延}}$ · 新樂 · 無舞 · 拍子十

### *SSSTF*

'River-Waters' Of drum-beats, ten.
河水樂 拍子十

### *JCYR, SGYR*

'River-Waters' Of drum-beats, ten. New music. There is no dance.
●河水樂 拍˙ 子十 新˙ 樂无舞

*RSCY* adds the further detail that the piece is classed as a 'middle-sized piece' *chū-kyoku* 中曲.

*KKS* also notes that the piece is played in *tadàbyōshi*, and that 'three-times' beats should be struck when beats are to be augmented.

**'RIVER-WATERS'**
**(*JCYR*, *SGYR*: primary versions)**

[1] *KF/HSFRK*: The gloss 'the low-D note' *kō-* or *ro-on* 口音 is not understood. The pitch of this *d‴* on the mouth-organ would in fact be the same as the lowest note obtainable on the *ryūteki*, were it to be sounded.

[1] *JCYR*: ligature supplied

[2] *JCYR*: (right) gloss

[3] *JCYR*: ligature connecting large and small tablature signs supplied

[4] *JCYR*: ligature connecting large and small tablature signs supplied

[1] *SGYR* (left): *Katsura-fu*

[2] *SGYR* (right): *Katsura-fu*

[1] *SSSTF*: No repetition (二) of *d‴* is marked, but *taiko*- and *kakko*-dots (as shown) confirm the double binary-unit length of the note.

[3] *SGYR* (right): ‘ one version states’

[4] *SGYR* (left): ‘ one version states’

[5] *SGYR* (right): ‘ one version states’

[6] *SGYR* (right): ‘ *Katsura-fu*’

[5] *JCYR*: (right) gloss

[6] *JCYR*: supernumerary intracolumnary dot

[7] *JCYR*: ligature supplied

[8] *JCYR*: ligature connecting large and small tablature signs supplied

[2] *KF/HSFRK*: The *d‴* of this manuscript may have arisen from confusion between the *d‴* and *d′* tablature-signs – respectively 几 and 乞.

[7] *SGYR* (left): ‘ one version states’

[8] *SGYR* (right): ‘ one version states’

[9] *SGYR* (right): ‘ *Katsura-fu*’

**'RIVER-WATERS'**
**(*JCYR, SGYR*: secondary versions)**

[1] *SGYR* (left):

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

The piece consists of ten measures of $\frac{4}{2}$ distributed as five musical lines, each of two measures, each ending in a lengthened cadential note, A or D, in minim/half-note or semibreve/whole-note duration. In *KF/HSFRK* it is presented in a quite remarkably undecorated condition: the text includes only a single ligature in quaver/eighth-note values. Were the few lengthened notes to be replaced by repeated notes or broken octaves, the melodic line would approximate closely in appearance to that of pieces in the score for five-stringed lute, *Gogen kin-fu* (p. 15). Although the mouth-organ parts exhibit natural Cs throughout, implying Mixolydian modality, a single G is sharpened in both *KF/HSFRK* and *SSSTF*. The string-parts, as is usual with Moronaga's editing of pieces in the *Ichikotsu-chō* mode-key, are Lydian throughout. The two mouth-organ parts differ by two notes at the beginning of measure 9, where *KF/HSFRK* has *d''* *f♯''*, while *SSSTF* has *a'* *g''*. The first difference may have arisen by confusion between 八 (*d''*) and 乙 (*a'*) in the score copied. In the light of other parts, *a'* is to be accepted for the first note, and *g''* for the second.

As with others among the short pieces examined in this fascicle, no repetition of entire musical lines occurs. The use of broken triads in the alternate presentation of different aspects of the mode is particularly striking: compare measure 5 with the end of measure 3 and the first half of measure 4.

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# 'Bodhisattvas'
# *Bosatsu/Pusa* 菩薩

## The title and its significance

In the pantheon of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Bodhisattvas are beings who seek the salvation of others. Though far advanced in enlightenment, and themselves ready to become Buddhas and to enter Nirvāṇa, Bodhisattvas remain in the world of incarnation, seeking the salvation of all creatures endowed with consciousness. The great among such enlightened ones, the Māhāsattvas, are such as Mañjuśri/Wenshushili 文殊師利 (p. 67), and Avalokiteśvara/Guanshiyin 觀世音.

## History of pieces of this, or related, title

### (1) The *Pusa man*

The two lexigraphs *Pusa* 菩薩 have not been observed as a complete title in any Chinese source. *JFJ*, however, includes a *Pusa-man* 菩薩蠻 in the list of 'Names of Pieces'; and three poems with this title from the brush of Li Bo are known, for example. A *Pusa-man* text, perhaps the oldest text of a poem presumably intended to be sung to a tune of this title, occurs as Stein MS No. 4332, to which my attention was drawn by Mr Elling Eide, who pointed out that the poem (like those of Li Bo) consists of a sequence of two-line stanzas. The lexigraph *man* in this context is commonly written as 蠻 'barbarian' – 'southern barbarian', more precisely. In the Stein MS, however, it is written as 曼, and Mr Eide takes this to be the equivalent of 鬘 (≡Sanskrit *mālā*), a head-dress or coiffure; a chaplet or wreath; and, by extension, a string of jewels (that is, of praises). Notwithstanding the religious association of the title: *Pusa man*, poems of this title evidently relate to real or imaginary liaisons with beautiful women. Jao Tsong-yi and Paul Demiéville (1971, see p. 20, A) preferred the 'barbarian' meaning of *man* and they accepted that the title referred to an occasion when barbarian performers were adorned (*parés*) as Bodhisattvas. They date the Stein-fragment in question as not later than 802, and suggest that such pieces were certainly current from the first half of the eighth century onwards.

The *JGL* (mid-ninth century) lists two *Pusa*-titles. *Pusa goulituo* 菩薩緱利陀 is one, where *goulituo* *kəu lji- t'â* (Karlgren, 1957: 113; 519a; 4a-3) is the Tang-Chinese spelling of a Buddhist-Sanskrit name, presumably Kolita. This person, also known as Mahāmaudgalyāyana, was one of the chief disciples of Śākyamuni, and his image is traditionally placed on the left of that of the Buddha (see Soothill and Hodous, 1937, p. 199a).

The *JGL* text also includes what appears to be a reference to two other *Pusa* pieces in a single entry: *Pusa-Aluodi wuqu* 'The dance-piece of the Bodhisattva Aluodi' and *Tuoami-dashiqu* 'Great Master Tuoami's piece'. The two titles are run together in the text to form one: *Pusa-Aluodi wuqu Tuoami-dashiqu* 菩薩阿羅地舞曲陀阿彌大師曲. Using Karlgren's Middle Chinese reconstruction, the first name becomes *â lâ d'i-* (Karlgren, 1957, 1m; 6a; 4b′) but has not been identified. Professer E.G. Pulleyblank (in a letter dated 30 June, 1984) suggested that *Tuoami* is a corruption

of *Amituo* 阿彌陀 =Amitābha, and *dashi* is a recognized title for a Buddha; so that the title becomes 'Amitābha Buddha's piece'. From these instances it is plain that several pieces relating to Bodhisattvas were known to the Tang repertory of Buddhist entertainment-music. Mr Eide draws my attention also to two quatrains, attributed to Li Bo (*YFSJ* 78, p. 1095), both with transliterated Sanskrit titles, where the title can only have been a tune-title, since it is unrelated to the content of the poem. The first is entitled 'Śāriputra' – the being, noted for wisdom and learning, who sits on the right of the Buddha. Mr Eide translates as follows:

Śāriputra

1. Golden cords mark off the Jewelled Land,
2. Precious trees give shade to the Jasper Pool,
3. A sublime music is playing amid the clouds,
4. At the boundaries of Heaven the Dharma conch resounds.

舍利弗

(1) 金繩界寶地, (2) 珍木蔭瑤池.
(3) 雲間妙音奏, (4) 天際法螺吹.

(*Yuefu shiji* 78, p. 1095)

Though the content of the quatrain is Buddhistic, there is no obvious link with Śāriputra.

The second quatrain is entitled 'Maudgalaputra' – the same divinity as 'Mahāmaudgalyāyana'. Here the content does not even exhibit any Buddhistic overtones.

*Maudgalaputra*

1. Joining the troops and heading north of the border,
2. For this distant march they take leave of their nearest kin;
3. I'd like to ask that patrol on the Shaded Mountains,
4. Can you still report on those men above the frontier?

摩多樓子

(1) 從戎向邊北, (2) 遠行辭密親.
(3) 借問陰山侯, (2) 還知塞上人.

(*Yuefu shiji* 78. p. 1095)

It is singular that the two beings named are those that sit to right and to left in the Buddhist Trinity. The five-syllable lines of both quatrains invite settings of four musical lines, each one measure of $\frac{4}{2}$ in length and in the rhythm:

**(2) The *Pusa man* as a processional dance with sung text**

Although the term *Pusa man* appears in Tang texts, descriptions of *Pusa man* dances are post-Tang in date; but such descriptions continue to appear in Chinese texts well into the fourteenth century. Perhaps the earliest brief reference to a *Pusa man* dance is that in the *Yueshu* 樂書 (1101) (185, 3a):

'*Pusa-man* dance' Clothing: blood-red, silken fabrics; close-fitting layered garments; 'coiling-cloud' caps. During the Tang Xiantong [reign-period, 860–74], a musician, Li Keji 李可及, who frequented the *Anguo si* 安國寺 [a Buddhist temple in the Tang capital, Changan] made a *Pusa man* dance. [The Emperor] Yizong [of the same reign-period] was fond of it and bestowed [on him] a silver goblet, twice-sealed wine, together with [an ornament] of gold and kingfisher [feathers].

From later accounts it is evident that all such dances were *Processionals*; and the use made of 'Bodhisattvas', as described in the context of the Tōdaiji celebrations (Fascicle 3, p. 30), is consistent with this. In the *Wenxian tongkao*, completed by Ma Duanlin *c.* 1308, and based on books published up to 1200, two entries relating to *Pusa* occur in a section devoted to *Duiwu* 隊舞, literally 'File-dance' – that is, processional, or open-chain, dances. One group, consisting of 153 female disciples, performed ten different *Processionals*, of which titles and costumes are given. The first of these chain-dances is the '*Pusa man* Chain' *Pusa man dui* 菩薩蠻隊. The clothes of the chain are 'bright purple, fresh-coloured'; they wear 'close-fitting, layered garments'; their caps are 'coiling-cloud caps'. This description is evidently related to that of the century-earlier *Yueshu*. The Eighth Chain is precisely defined as 'The Chain of Bodhisattvas Offering Incense and Flowers'; and this latter entry is already noted in *GKMR* (in *GKR*). The *WXTK* entry runs: 'Clothes in fresh colours [the colours of growing things]; close-fitting, layered garments, wearing jewelled caps, and bearing incense and bowls of flowers'. The final item, the offerings carried, plainly chimes with the account of the Tōdaiji celebrations in 861 (Fascicle 3, p. 31). Both of these chain-dances are described in almost exactly the same terms in the *Song Shi* 宋史 (1345)志, 95: 17, p. 3350, Zhonghua shuju edn, Beijing, 1977.

The *Yuan Shi* 元史 (1370) (志, 22, 5, 671, Guofang yanjiu yuan-Zhonghua dadian bianyin hui edn, Taibei, 1966) describes two chain-dances in which the women dancers (20 in all) wear 'Bodhisattva-caps', and makes plain that the performers sang.

Capped with beaded, Bodhisattva-caps, clothed in fused gold [goldlamé?] yellow garments, decorated with corded fringe, with corded girdle, bearing bronze [-handled?] 'Śākyamuni' white, dish-cover-like parasols. The dancers sang the previous piece, uniting in the melody. When, on entering, they arrived before the Emperor, they divided into five groups, each group of four individuals. When the piece ended, they started again uniting with the following chain. There followed the Ninth Chain of women (of individuals, 20), capped in gold-and-kingfisher[-feather] Bodhisattva-caps, clothed in fused-gold red garments, bearing jewelled parasols. The dancers sang united with the preceding chain.

Two passages from a Tang text that includes illuminating references to the *Pusa man* have been brought to my notice and translated by Mr Eide. They occur in 'The Duyang Miscellany' (*Duyang zabian* 杜陽雜編), edited by Su E 蘇鶚 in 876. This is a collection of random observations, some of which are undoubtedly fanciful, covering a period of about a century. It was read, rather as Mandeville was read, as a collection of marvels. The two passages cited here are plainly factual in the light of others already reported.

At the beginning of the Dazhong reign (847–59), a southern barbarian nation of women presented as tribute a pair of dragon-carved rhinoceros horns . . . and bright, rosy-cloud brocade. . . . The people of that country wear towering coiffures (*weiji*), golden tiaras (*jinguan*), and strings of jewels (*yingle*) covering their bodies. Therefore they were called 'Bodhisattva Southern Barbarians'. At that time the entertainers [at court?] created the piece:

'Bodhisattva Southern Barbarians', and the literary men [of the day] also frequently gave voice to its words. Again, [in the same period], a nation ruled by a queen [a kingdom of women?] presented as tribute oiled damask in a dragon-pattern and oiled brocade in a fish-pattern. The patterns and colours were unusual, and both [materials] could be immersed in water without becoming wet. They say it is because of using dragon-oil and fish-oil. The entertainers also created a piece: 'The Nation Ruled by a Queen'. The melody was sinuous and robust and has been preserved by the Music Bureau.

大中初女蠻國貢雙龍犀…明霞錦…其國人危髻金冠瓔珞被體，故謂之菩薩蠻，當時倡優遂制菩薩蠻曲，文士亦往往聲其詞，更有女王國貢龍油綾魚油錦，紋彩尤異，皆入水不濡濕，云有龍油魚油故也，優者亦作女王國曲，音調宛暢傳於樂部.

(Congshu jicheng edn, 1939, *xia*, 23a)

The Emperor [Yizong] esteemed the religion of India. In the Winter of the twelfth year [of Xiantong] (871), he commanded the making of two lofty platforms for presentation to the new Temple of the Nation at Peace. One was called the lecture-platform, and one was called the platform for chanting the sutras. Each was twenty feet high. . . and, for fine craftsmanship and wonderful intricacy, they were without equal in their day. . . . When the Emperor was restoring the galleries to the Buddha Hall at the Temple of the Nation at Peace. . . he made a personal visit to admire the work, and the crowd of spectators was like a wall. On the Buddha's birthday, they would put up decorations in the palace to make a temple. . . and Li Keji once instructed a dance-troupe of several hundred persons to perform the *Processional*: 'Bodhisattva Southern Barbarians of the Four Directions' ['Strings of Jewels [='praises'] for the Bodhisattvas of the Four Directions'?].

上敬天竺教．十二年冬制二高座賜新安國寺．一曰講座，一曰唱經座，各高二丈…精巧奇絶冠于一時．…上勝修安國寺臺殿廊宇…親幸賞勞．觀者知堵．降誕日於宮中結綵為寺…李可及嘗教數百人作四方菩薩蠻隊.

(Congshu jicheng edn, 1939, *xia*, 28b)

(Note that this Tang account confirms the report in the *Yueshu*, already considered, p. 60.)

### (3) 'The Wild-Duck's Breast'

While *KF/HSFRK* states that there is a dance for *Bosatsu* (p. 66), *JCYR*, *SGYR*, *RSCY*, do not make mention of any such. *KKS* states (4, p. 78) that the dance has recently been discontinued; but that 'at Buddhist Memorial Services [*Daihōe* 大法曽], while the *ikko* [a waisted, cord-braced, two-headed drum] is beaten, hand-gestures, known as "The Wild-Duck's breast Hand[-gestures]" from the Bodhisattva-dance, are performed'

又云，近來菩薩舞絶了．但大行道時，一鼓ヲ打，鴨ノムナソリノ手ハ、是菩薩ノ舞ノ手也。

This term 'Duck's Breast' *kamo no munasori* 鴨胸ソリis elaborated in *KKS* (7, p. 145):

The matter of "The Wild-Duck's Breast Curving Backwards":
Holding the left and right heads of the *ikko*, bending slightly [forwards], looking down, by small degrees stepping forward for a distance of about one foot, [then] after ceasing to step, while throwing the head backwards and raising the breast [and arms], perform a *plié* (during eight beats). Then, running round to the left, the drum is struck, and [the dancer] stamps to the left, while looking to the right. Running to the right, [the drum is] struck and [he] stamps to the right, while looking to the left.[1] In this way, to left and to right, in each [direction] twice.
[(]In Koma no Mitsusue's version, there are five 'hands' [=performers]. If one adds the 'hand' that runs to the rear, there are six 'hands'.[)]

The Priest Jimmei 仁命 states: As to 'The Wild-Duck's Breast Curving Backwards', strike it with six 'hands' [=gestures]. Towards the left once; towards the right once ([and] with hands raised once). Doing it like this makes three hands. In all [on repeating], six hands.

鴨胸ソリ事
一鼓ノ左右ノ俣ヲヲサヘテ、スコレウツブキテ、コマカニ一丈許リ歩テ、アユミトヾマリテ後、ノケザマニムナソリアガリテ、落居ル。八拍子間也。サテ左へ踏廻リテ、鼓ヲ左突右見、右へ踏廻テ、右突右見、如レ此左右へ各二度。狛光季ノ説ニハ、五手也。尻へ走ル手ヲ加ヘバ、六手ナリ。
僧仁命云、鴨ノムナソリハ、六手打レ之。左向一度、右向一度己上一手、如レ此三手、合六手也。

This sequence of actions is evidently a pantomime of the duck's behaviour as it alights on the surface of water. The shuffling, small steps are the last movements before it comes to rest in the erect position; the beating of the breast with the hands represents the wing movements, executed while the body of the duck is still more-or-less erect on the water-surface, before its momentum has been completely dissipated.

Two comments that may be made might seem to exclude any possibility that this is indeed a vestige of the Bodhisattva-dance: first, performers carrying an *ikko* suspended from the neck, and striking it, could not also be carrying offerings of incense and flowers; second, there is at first sight no obvious link between pantomimic representation of the actions of a wild-duck, alighting on water, and the symbolic content of Celestial Beings making offerings.

Regarding the first point, however, it need not have been the case that all performers bore offerings; and in regard to the second, there can be no gainsaying the powerful apotropaeic significance of the Wild Duck in East Asian folk belief. The sequence of movements described in *KKS* can be interpreted as the symbolic arrival of avian defenders, competent to keep evil spirits at bay. Their presence at the reconsecration ceremony at the Tōdaiji would have been as appropriate as that of *Kalaviṇka* (bird-boys) and Devī.

With the clue afforded by the statement that the first sequence, down to the *plié* (knees widely apart, legs flexed at the knee, feet turned out), is performed during eight beats, and assuming that the sequence of Priest Jimmei is to be added to the second sequence of drum-stroke + stamping + head-turning, a plausible dance-routine, occupying four measures of eight beats, can be constructed. In discussion with my colleague and former pupil, Professor Liu Fengxue 劉風學 of the National Normal University 國立臺灣

[1] The text has 'right' – presumably a mistake.

師範大學 , Taiwan, a possible metrical scheme has been devised, assuming the *ikko* to be suspended from the neck, as shown in representations of Devī (or Apsaras) from Dunhuang:

Starting position: Dancers stand in line, all facing along the axis of the line and in the same direction, each dancer with an *ikko* hanging, in front of the waist, from the neck, on a sling, with the right arm passed through the sling. Place each hand on a head of the drum, look forwards and downwards.

Measure 1:

| | |
|---|---|
| Beats 1–6 | With legs slightly bent at the knee, step forward rapidly (right foot leading) for a distance of about three metres. Bring the left foot into lateral contact with the right and return the upper body to normal posture. |
| Beat 7 | With arms opening to the side, raise the breast and bend the upper torso backwards. |
| Beat 8 | The upper body returns to the normal position as a *plié* is performed. |

Measure 2:

| | |
|---|---|
| Beats 1 & 2 | Starting with the right foot, run a counter-clockwise circle in four steps. |
| Beat 3 | Stamp with the right foot while the right hand strikes the right drum-head, push the drum to the left, and look to the right. |
| Beat 4 | Pause. |
| Beats 5–8 | Repeat actions for Beats 1–4, but starting with the left foot, running a clockwise circle, striking the left drum-head with the left hand, pushing the drum to the right, and looking to the left. |

Measure 3:

| | |
|---|---|
| Beats 1–8 | Repeat the actions for Measure 2, opening the arms to the side on the final eighth beat. |

Measure 4:

| | |
|---|---|
| Beats 1 & 2 | *Plié*; right hand strikes left breast, with breast raised and bending the upper torso slightly backwards, straighten the legs; right arm to the side. |
| Beats 3 & 4 | Repeat the actions for Beats 1 & 2, but with left hand striking right breast, etc. |
| Beats 5–8 | Repeat actions for Beats 1–4. |

This reconstruction takes account of only four 'hands' described in Priest Jimmei's formulation. Clearly the pattern could be extended freely and indefinitely within a structure of measures of eight beats.

A detailed, hypothetical scheme for this sequence in Labanotation has been prepared by Professor Liu, in the light of an experienced dancer's practical requirements, and is shown on pages 64, 65. The principle of this system of dance-notation is to set out movements, in linear sequence, along a time-axis (here, conventionally, vertical on the page) on which distance equates with duration. An elongated rectangle displays, on either side of a line that corresponds to the forward progression of the body, movements of feet and legs. Movements of the arms, hands, are indicated by shapes located in zones progressively distant from the central axis – arms, hands, fingers.

In the diagram, black rectangles mark the points at which a *plié* is executed. The *pliés* in Measure 4 have been supplied as a natural complement to a subsequent raising of the breast. Other signs are explained in the key below the diagram.

It is to be stressed that the correctness or otherwise of this dancer's interpretation of the *KKS* text in no way modifies the importance of that text.

### (4) The 'Bodhisattva-chant' preserved in *KKS*

Quite as astonishing as the preservation of 'The Wild-Duck's Breast' mime in *KKS* is the same text's preservation of the song-text of the chant (*ei/yong* 詠) sung during the piece. According to *KKS*, the singing of the chant survived at the Kitsuji 橘寺 in Nara, and may still have been performed there at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The song was entitled: 'The Chant: "Pressing Palms Together" (*or* "Hands together in Prayer") *Gasshō-ei* 合掌詠.

The song-text is a rhyming couplet and is religious in character. It is indeed what a *Pusa-man* text (in Mr Eide's sense of 'A String of Jewels for a Bodhisattva') should be. The text is shown below transcribed into Karlgren's reconstruction of the sixth-century dialect of Changan.[2]

南 無 佛 法 僧 禮 拜
1. nậm mịu B'ịuət pịwop səng liei: pwăi-

南 無 極 樂 界 會 同 聞 衆 禮 拜
2. nậm miu g'ịək lâk kăi ɤwâi- d'ung mịuən tśịung- liei: pwăi-

Paying homage to the Buddha, the Law, and the Monks, we worship!
Paying homage to the Congregation of those of like understanding, assembled in the Realm of Ultimate Joy, we worship!

*KKS* adds the further detail that when the song-text was to be sung, this was done 'between *Prelude* and *Broaching*' *Jo Ha no aida* 序破之間. As will be seen (p. 65), the flute-cue that provides the A-final of the *Ōshiki-chō* mode-key is itself a single measure of eight beats. The complete chant could have been sung to two such measures, and indeed to the flute-cue! The stanza was, presumably, to be repeated over and over again. Of the sources used, however, only *SSSTF* sets out the movements in the sequence: *Prelude* – *Broaching*. The others adopt the sequence: *Broaching* (as *Way-Walking*) – *Prelude*; and whereas the flute-cue in *JCYR* and *SGYR* would be appropriate to secure retuning of the strings between *Way-Walking* and *Prelude*, it would *not* be appropriate for the necessary *second* retuning, were the *Way-Walking* ever to be used as a *Broaching*, following the

[2] Mr Eide has checked my transcription.

*Prelude*. The layout of a majority of the scores suggests that *Way-Walking – Prelude* was the more usual sequence of movements.

If the retuning-cue was between *Way-Walking* and

*Prelude*, this formula could readily be adapted so as to act as transition from *Prelude* to a *Broaching*:

The chant could then have been sung to either of these formulae, halving minims/half-notes or crotchets/quarter-notes where necessary, so as to accommodate the monosyllabic words to the time-space of a measure:

If, in accordance with the Japanese tendency to syllable-ize final consonants of Chinese monosyllables, words such as *b'i̯uet, g'i̯ek, lâk*, became *Butsu, kyoku, raku,* respectively, one has only to suppose that quaver/eighth-note values were halved in some instances. The tempo would not be likely to exceed ♩=60, and might well be less.

## Note on the Condition of Surviving Scores of *Bosatsu*

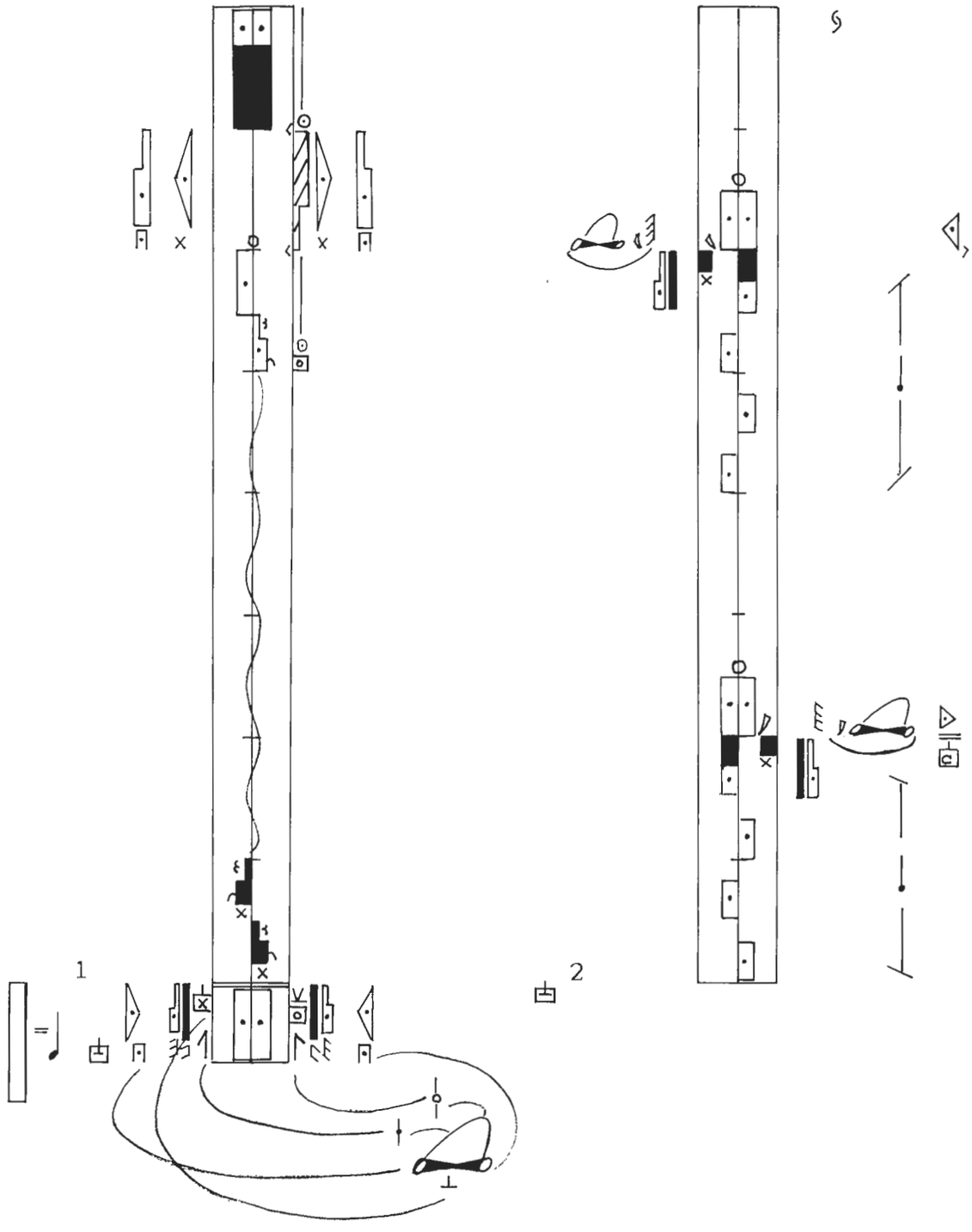
Unlike other pieces so far considered, the surviving tablatures for different instruments display considerable variation in musical line. They are indeed so different that their vertical alignment with respect both to pitches and to durations is, in some instances, no longer a simple matter. Of the two movements, the *Way-Walking/Broaching* is the better preserved, probably for the reason, previously noted, that it is measured, in contrast to the *tempo-giusto, senza-misura Prelude*. Even in the case of the *Way-Walking/Broaching*, however, there are substantial differences between the versions for different instruments: the measure-length for lute is twice that for zither; the length of the *Modified Incipit* (*Kandō/Huantou* 換頭) differs between strings and mouth-organ; and the first half of the first complete measure in the zither-part differs from other scores.

In the case of the *Prelude*, a surprising difference between the two mouth-organ versions is to be observed for the first time. Comparison with the lute-part of *SGYR* shows that, while the version of *KF/HSFRK* agrees well with the *primary* version of *SGYR*, the version of *SSSTF* agrees with the *secondary* version of *SGYR*. This correlation may well be significant, for the following reason.

In her study of *Saibara*, Dr Elizabeth Markham (1983) found that Moronaga's primary and secondary versions of these court-songs correlated, respectively, with the *Nabeshima-fu* and *Tenjibon* manuscripts of the *Saibara* 'pointed' texts; that is to say, the primary version is always that of the Minamoto tradition; the secondary version is that of the Fujiwara tradition. It is reasonable to suppose that the sequence of traditions was determined by precedence, the Minamoto being the clan of the Imperial House. We are now inclined to the view that it is this order of precedence which determines the sequence of primary and secondary versions in the *Tōgaku* scrolls of *JCYR* and *SGYR* also. Bearing in mind our general impression that the secondary versions of *Tōgaku* pieces are commonly somewhat more decorated than primary versions, it seems not impossible that the Minamoto tradition tended also to preserve somewhat *earlier* versions of many pieces than did the Fujiwara tradition.

In the present instance, the Toyohara mouth-organ tradition, embodied in *KF/HSFRK* is close to the Minamoto version (primary version in *SGYR*), while the *SSSTF* mouth-organ tradition is close to the Fujiwara tradition (secondary version in *SGYR*). There is strong historical evidence of intimate association between musicians of the Toyohara line and those of the imperial Minamoto clan; and this particular correlation adds strength to the view that the Toyohara tradition of *KF/HSFRK* has authority similar to that of the Minamoto tradition. Correspondingly, the agreement between *SSSTF* and Moronaga's secondary version of the *Prelude* may imply that this mouth-organ manuscript, in general, illustrates the Fujiwara tradition within the mouth-organ tradition. Furthermore, the frequently observed simpler melodic line of *KF/HSFRK* as compared with that of *SSSTF* may also be symptomatic of the age-difference between Minamoto and Fujiwara traditions, as preserved by Moronaga, *KF/HSFRK* tending to present the earlier, less decorated, Minamoto version, in contrast to the later, more decorated, Fujiwara tradition, of *SSSTF*.

It may at first sight seem extraordinary that a piece that aroused such interest, by virtue of the tradition of transmission, and of its legendary associations with Mañjuśri, should have become so degenerate in its manuscript tradition. Discrepancies between the several instrumental versions presumably imply very infrequent performance of this piece – there is indeed no reference to a performance throughout the *Kokonchomonjū* (Fascicle 1, p. 14, n. 22). If one then enquires why there were so few performances, the answer may be that it was indeed a *Processional*, a very



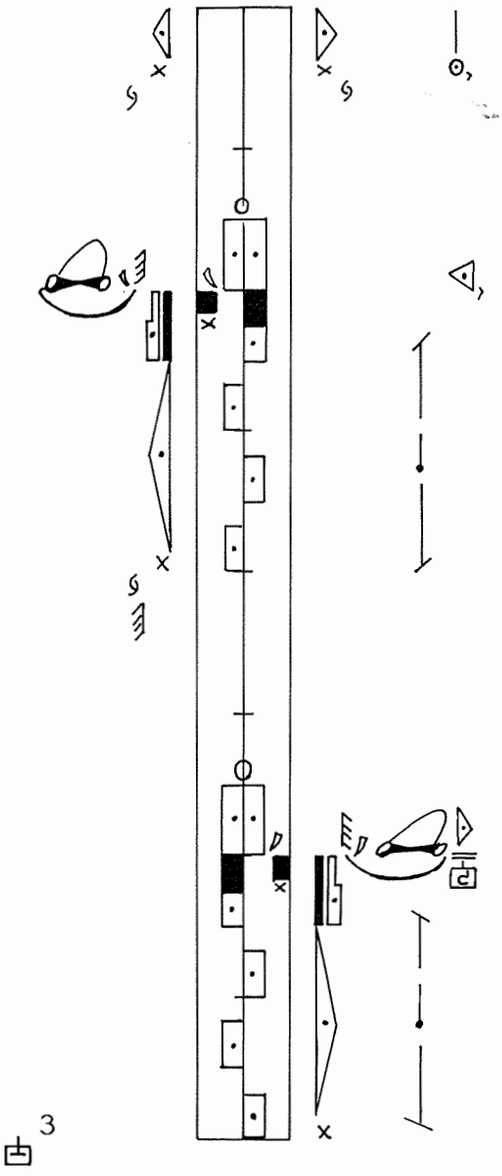
the *ikko*

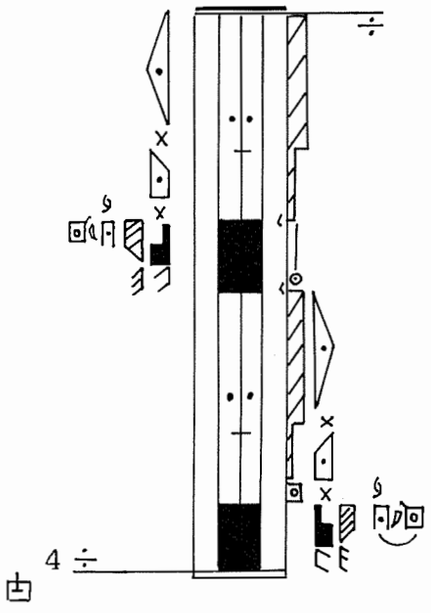
the sling supporting the drum



steps in free time

repeat the passage without change



a) a full circle to the left

b) a full circle to the right

special type of Chinese dance, suitable for certain limited occasions only – occasions such as the reconsecration at the Tōdaiji – where there was ample *space* for processions. The celebrations at Nara were perhaps the last occasions in Japanese history when such a performance was either called for, or possible, in terms of locality and resources.

Mr Elling Eide draws attention to the fact that processions were widely practised in the Heian and that one such is still practised in Okayama. At the Taimadera 當麻寺 in Nara Prefecture the *Nijūgo bosatsu kōsetsue* 二十五菩薩迎接會 'Welcoming the Twenty-Five Bodhisattvas' is still performed. In this ceremony, members of the congregation dressed as the 25 Bodhisattvas march, welcoming Chūjō-hime 中将姫, daughter of Fujiwara no Toyonari 藤原豊成, to the Pure Land.

It must be borne in mind that the bulk of *Bugaku* items as performed today are, as dances, entirely different in character. They include no *Processionals* in the Chinese sense (*duiwu* 隊舞); for the *Yusei/Yousheng* of *Ō-dai hajin-raku* and *Shunnō-den*, or the *Michi-yuki/Daoxing* of other items, or the 'processing' to the dance-terrace to the accompaniment of *Modal-Preludes*, are clearly not the elaborately choreographed *duiwu* of the Chinese sources, of which *KKS* preserves a fragment relating to *Bosatsu*. The *Bugaku*-dances performed on a dance-terrace are very different in character, and they are performed by a group of dancers *tiny* in comparison with what is implied by the *Tōdaiji-yōroku*'s account[3] of the ceremonies conducted in 861.

## Prefatory Comments in the Manuscript Sources

### *KF/HSFRK*

'Bodhisattvas' Old music. There is a dance.
菩薩・古樂・有舞

*Way-Walking*. Of drum-beats, seven. Use the *Way-Walking* as *Broaching*. Four times. When the dancers emerge, the Champa *Free-Tune*.
・道行・拍子七・以道行為破・四遍・舞出時
・林邑乱聲

Some [emerge] to the *Way-Walking*. But when to the *Way-Walking*, play from the *Modified Incipit*.
・或道行・但道行之時・自換頭吹

When retiring use the *Way-Walking*.
・入時道行

*Prelude*. Of drum-beats, fourteen
序・拍子十四

*Broaching*. Same as *Way-Walking*, therefore not written out again.
破・同道行・仍不書載

### *SSSTF* (*netori* 音取 **omitted**)

'Bodhisattvas' *Prelude*. Of drum-beats, eighteen. Some say sixteen.
菩薩 序 拍子十八 或説十六

*Broaching*. Of drum-beats, four.
破 拍子四

### *JCYR, SGYR*

(Numerals in parentheses refer to notes under *RSCY*)

*Way-Walking*: four drum-beats [but 7 (for 8) in the score in *JCYR*]. Number of times not fixed.
道` 行 拍子四度數无定

When the dancers have walked to their final station, playing stops. The *Way-Walkings* of other pieces are all like this.
舞` 人行立了彈止他曲道行皆効此

Next take the note of *Ōshiki-chō* (1).
次` 取黄鐘調音

*Prelude*: 18 drum-beats; to be played once.
序` 拍子十八可彈一反

Nowadays a '*Broaching*' is played once, namely, by the *Way-Walking*'s being played again (2). From the third [only specified in JCYR] drum-beat onwards, augment the *taiko*.
今` 世破彈一反即以道行更彈 從第三拍子上大鼓

When the dancers retire, play the *Way-Walking* again.
舞` 入時重彈道行

[Prince] Southern-Palace's Score ['transverse-flute score' in *SGYR*] states: 'The *Way-Walking* has eight drum-beats. The *Prelude* should be blown four times [反 in *JCYR*; 遍 in *SGYR*]; it has 18 drum-beats. The total of drum-beats is 72(3). This [piece] is what was preserved and transmitted by [the Director of the Buddhist-Ecclesia] the Brahmin-Priest Bodai, together with the Assistant-Master Buttetsu, and others. A middle-sized piece; *Rin'yu* [=Champa] music.'

南` 宮譜云道行拍子八 序` 可吹四反 拍子十八 合拍子七十二 此` 僧正婆羅門菩提並佛哲師等所持傳也
中` 曲 林` 邑樂

Chōshūkyō's score [Hakuga's score; 'transverse-flute score' in *SGYR*](4) states: 'First play the *Modal Prelude*.' [Then,] during the playing of *Ten Devī*, the boy-dancers of *The Bird* (six in number), grasping flower-vases, together with ten Bodhisattvas(5), grasping flower-offerings, fire-vomiting serpents, etc., each in two rows, pass to the dance-terrace and make offerings to the Buddha.

長` 秋卿譜云先吹調子 吹十天樂之間鳥儛童六人取花瓶並菩薩十人取花供火蛇等各兩行經舞臺之上供佛

Before the time of their retiring, the bird-boys first withdraw to the straw-lodges on the dance-terrace.
前還時先鳥童退着舞臺之上草墊

Next, while the *Way-Walking* is played, the rows of Bodhisattvas return to station. Next one must play in *Ōshiki-chō* – therefore [it is] entered here (6).
次` 吹道行之間菩薩行還立 次聊吹黄鐘調仍記入

* *RSCY* has crotchet/quarter-note b″.

[3] Printed in *Zoku-zoku-gunsho-ruijū* 續續羣書類從 (1907), 3, pp. 54, 59; see Fascicle 3, pp. 30, 31.

Then play the four Sections [here using *jō* for a 'time'] of the *Prelude*, taking *Bodhisattva* as *Prelude*; but of the above mentioned *Prelude*, following the dance's being cut short, play one time [only]. Then also play the *Way-Walking* [until] withdrawal is completed. The number of times is not fixed.
次丶吹序四帖以菩薩爲序 但丶件序依舞絶吹一帖 次又吹道行入了 度數不定

Myōsen's transverse-flute score states: 'As to when the dancers emerge, there are two views: *either* the Champa *Free-Tune* [is played], *or* play the *Modal Prelude*. Also when retiring play the *Way-Walking*.
明暹横笛譜云舞出時二説或林邑亂聲或吹調子 入時又吹道行也

*Ryūmeishō* states: (7) 'This [piece] was preserved and transmitted by the Brahmin-Priest (*Sōjō-Baramon*) Bodai, together with the [Assistant-Master] Buttetsu, and others. Following this piece [*JCYR*] [By means of this music (*SGYR*)] they formerly ascended the Wutai-Mountains [in China], desiring to offer gifts to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśri. A white-haired old man, face-to-face with them, reported that Mañjuśri, to the benefit of all living things in Japan, had undergone incarnation in that country in the likeness of the Bodhisattva Gyōki. The Brahmin came to this country.
龍鳴抄云此僧婆羅門菩提並佛哲等所持傳也次此曲先登五臺山 欲供養文殊師利菩薩白頭翁相向云文殊師利利益日本衆生化生彼 國傳聞行基菩薩同之婆羅門來是國

At the time of his meeting with Gyōki, there were two venerable centenarians. From birth the pupils of the eyes of one had not seen; from birth, the waist of the other had been crooked. Of a sudden, the two men being unable to understand words, the two Bodhisattvas, face-to-face transmitted this music [to them]. The eyes of the one opened; the waist of the other straightened; both of them danced with pleasure. Baramon enquired, saying: 'These two men – I do not know what men they are.' The Bodhisattva Gyōki replied, saying: (8) 'They are Devī from the *Tōri/Daoli* Heaven. On the Sacred Mountain, they heard all things together. Therefore, today, from the saints, they have seen wisdom' and so on, and so forth.
相逢行基其時百歳老翁有二人一者自生眼眸不見一者自生 其腰不立又乍二人言語不通而二菩薩相向傳是樂眼開腰立各舞 悦婆羅門問云是二人不知誰人行基菩薩答云忉利天天人靈山同聞 衆故今日向聖人覺知云云

## *RSCY*

Although the text of the preface in *RSCY* is essentially the same as that in *JCYR* and *SGYR*, at several points it is fuller. In consequence, the meaning of the text in the other two manuscripts is clarified. In the light of *RSCY*, Moronaga's text seems to have undergone some degree of pruning with loss of clarity. Bearing in mind the supposed derivation of *RSCY* from the *Ruijū sō-fu* of Fujiwara no Morozane – completed about a century before Moronaga's time – the fact that *RSCY*'s text is fuller may reflect the condition of that earlier text – a text of great importance in relation to the work of Moronaga (Fascicle 1, p. 36).

For convenience, the points at which *RSCY* departs from Moronaga's text will be itemized here as notes to the translation, or to the transcript, of the texts in *JCYR* and *SGYR*. Differences between those two manuscripts will also be noted here, together with any points that call for additional comment.

(1) This instruction, preceded by 'then' or 'next' (次) occurs in all three manuscripts. 次 may sometimes have been confused with 吹 'to blow/to play', but here it means 'next' – after playing the *Way-Walking*. As the instructions preceding the *Prelude* in *SGYR* and *RSCY* (but not in *JCYR*) show, the tunings of zither and lute for that movement are anomalous; and the tunings adopted for the *Way-Walking* have to be changed before the *Prelude* can be played. According to *RSCY*, the *Prelude* is in *Ōshiki-chō* (*ritsu*-scale, with minor third), with the moveable frets of the *gaku-sō* placed as for pieces in the mode-key group *Hyōjō* (see p. 15); according to *SGYR*, the tuning of the four strings of the *biwa* is the ancient *Fukō-chō/Fengxiang-diao* 'Fragrance-of-the-wind' mode: *A c e a* (see Wolpert, 1977, p. 127, 132).

(2) It is clear that a repeat of the *Way-Walking*, after the *Prelude*, at one time functioned as a *Broaching*. Both *SGYR* and *RSCY* leave a blank space for the number of the drum-beat from which augmentation in the number of drum-strokes to the measure begins. None of the manuscripts suggest that a different *Broaching*-movement, peculiar to *Bodhisattvas*, ever existed.

(3) *RSCY* refers to the prince as Ribu-Ō (see Fascicle 2, p. 51). As with other pieces, we note yet again the greater number of repeats proposed by Prince Sadayasu, as compared with the practice recorded by Moronaga. The probability that the pace of performance was reduced between 921 and the last quarter of the twelfth century would seem to be considerable.

(4) While *RSCY* refers to Ribu-Ō's *ryūteki*-score (instead of 'transverse-flute score'), it also refers to Chōshūkyō's 'same', 'like', or 'similar' score (*dō fu/tong pu* 同譜); this supports the view that the two manuscripts were very closely related indeed.

(5) *RSCY* has 'one' *Deva* (一), presumably due to failure to complete 'ten' (十). A *Deva* (Sanskrit) is a divine being; and Bodhisattvas above a certain category are one of the classes of *Devī*. *RSCY* also transforms 'fire-serpents' (火虵) to 'Heaven & Earth' (天地).

(6) *RSCY* has 以聊 instead of 次聊 (*JCYR*, *SGYR*). In the reverse order, and in standard Chinese, the former would mean 'With a view to playing in *Ōshiki-chō*. . . .' The insertion of a passage in flute-tablature is of great interest. As the transcription shows, the passage finishes with repeated As, and A is the final of pieces in the *Ōshiki-chō* mode-key group. The flute passage is evidently there to provide a cue for retuning – see (1). The cue furnished in *RSCY*, however, is shorter by one note than that in *JCYR* and *SGYR*; the ligature *b'a'* in quavers/eighth-notes in those manuscripts is replaced by a b' of crotchet/quarter-note duration in *RSCY*. In referring to 'four Sections', Hakuga (Chōshūkyō) presumably had in mind Prince Sadayasu's instruction that the *Prelude* be played four times. Here is an indication, perhaps, of reduction in the number of repeats between the date when the prince compiled his flute-score (921) and that of Hakuga's work, 45 years later.

(7) Contrary to what might be expected, the passage that follows this heading is *not* a Sino-Japanese version of what Ōga no Motomasa records in Heian Japanese in *RMS* (see later). Like *SGYR*, *RSCY* has 'By means of. . .' or 'With. . . ,' and like *SGYR* it has 'music' not 'piece'. *RSCY* also adds 之時 after the first naming of Wenshushili/Mañjuśri. One might translate: 'At the time when, with this music, they formerly ascended the Wutai Mountains. . .' Again, *RSCY* makes clear the following statement by the old man: 'in order to benefit all living beings in the country of Japan' 爲利益日本國衆生. Both *JCYR* and *RSCY* have 'the same as him' 同之; but *SGYR* appears to have 曰云 (行基菩薩曰云) 'namely, Bodhisattva Gyōki, it is said'.

(8) *RSCY* omits 'enquired' (問 in the previous sentence). Gyōki's reply is more precise than in the versions of *JCYR* and *SGYR*: 'They are *Devī* from the *Tōri/Daoli* Heaven (Sanskrit: *Trayastriṁśās*).' This is the heaven of the Thirty-Three *Devī*-cities on Mount Meru. The complex consists of a central city with groups of eight such on each side. The continuation of this passage is again more explicit in *RSCY*: 'They were of the multitude of fellow-disciples on the sacred mountain; therefore today they have learned wisdom from the saints' and so on, and so forth. 忉利天之天人靈山同門衆也故今日向聖人覺知云云

(9) *RSCY* adds a final comment without parallel in *JCYR* and *SGYR*: 'This records an oral tradition of the Third Year of Daiji 大治 (1128). It is also recorded in the *SGYR* of Myō-non-in Zenkō [Moronaga]: therefore the entry is made here 此記有大治三年口傳又載妙音院禪閤三五要録等仍記入.

The preface to *Bodhisattvas* in *RSCY* has now been examined in its relationships to those of *JCYR* and *SGYR*; it remains to consider the contribution it makes to the history of 'Champa-music' and its transmission to Japan. First, the attribution of transmission to Japan by 'Bodai, Buttetsu and others' is explicitly credited to Ribu-Ō – that is, to Prince Sadayasu (873–924). Together, the three prefatory statements (*JCYR*, *SGYR*, *RSCY*) thus extend backwards by more than two centuries the tradition of this transmission, antedating the approximate date of compilation of *JCYR*, itself regarded by Demiéville (Fascicle 3, p. 31) as the earliest text dateable with certainty that mentions Buttetsu. What the reported testimony of Prince Sadayasu implies becomes evident when it is remembered that the year of reconsecration of the bronze Buddha of the Tōdaiji (Fascicle 3, p. 30) was 861 – only twelve years before the birth of the prince. The first documented mention of *Rin'yū*-music ('Champa-music'), as noted by Demiéville, is a century earlier than that, in 763. Bodai (Demiéville reads 'Bodhi') was an historical personage who arrived in Japan with a returning Japanese mission to Tang-China in the eighth month of 736 (Demiéville, 1925, p. 211). Though lodged himself at the Daianji 大安寺 in Nara, he was the principal officiant at the original consecration at the Tōdaiji in 752.

The Palace copy of *SGYR* received from the Kikutei family (菊亭家), itself a copy of that made by Fujiwara no Takamichi in 1208, signals those passages in the preface that derive from different authorities by a prefatory hollow circle ○. If weight is to be attached to this use of ○, it may be proper to conclude that the entire passage that follows '○ Southern-Palace. . .' down to 'Chōshūkyō's score. . .' is quoted from Prince Sadayasu. This passage ends with the statement: 'Champa-music'. If the entire passage is a quotation from the prince's flute-score, we have here an attribution of Champa-music to Bodai and Buttetsu, made perhaps three centuries prior to the twelfth century.

What follows in the descriptive passage attributed to Lord Long-Autumn (that is, to Hakuga: 919–80) closely resembles the Tōdaiji account of the ceremony in 861 (Fascicle 3, p. 30); but Hakuga could not have had personal experience of this, or of the augmented celebrations in 883. He may well have derived this information from the *Tōdaiji-yōroku* or from Prince Sadayasu's flute-score. At times, Moronaga's manner of coupled reference to both flute-scores as 'Nangū's [and] Lord Long-Autumn's transverse-flute score' would seem to imply a very close relationship indeed between the two documents. It is possible, then, that this passage, attributed to Lord Long-Autumn, quoted in *JCYR*, *SGYR*, and *RSCY*, was taken by Hakuga from Prince Sadayasu's text. It does not, of course, survive in the *Hakuga no fue-fu* as we now have it and which no longer includes pieces in the *Ichikotsu-chō* mode-key group.

The prefaces further enable us to separate legendary from historical elements. The legend that accounts for the visit of Bodai and Buttetsu to Japan (because of the incarnation there of Mañjuśri) and narrates the marvellous effects of the *Bodhisattvas* music on two handicapped divine beings, is stated by *RSCY* to derive from an oral tradition in existence in 1128 – a date scarcely earlier than than that of Ōga no Motomasa's *RMS* (1133). On the other hand, the simple association of the piece *Bodhisattvas* with Bodai and Buttetsu may derive (as has been argued) from Prince Sadayasu himself; and the allocation of the piece to the class of 'Champa-music' may also have been explicit in Prince Sadayasu's score.

A very remarkable feature of all three prefaces is that what is stated to derive from *RMS* is, in fact, more copious in *JCYR*, *SGYR*, and *RSCY*, than that which appears in *RMS* as we now have it. According to all three manuscripts, *RMS* links the Brahmin-Priest (*Baramon-Sōjō* or *Sōjō-Baramon*) with Buttetsu. In fact, the latter is not mentioned by *RMS* in relation to either *Bosatsu* or *Bairo* (another Champa-piece). In the preface to the latter, *RMS*'s reference to the Brahmin-Priest is brief: 'It is music transmitted by the Brahmin-Priest.' In the case of *Bosatsu*, the *RMS* account starts from the encounter of the Brahmin-Priest (his personal name, Bodai, is not given) with the two centenarians; but in *RMS* these are merely an old woman and an old man. After their healing on hearing *Bosatsu*, the two explain their history in greater detail than that given in the prefaces; but the prefatory story in *JCYR*, *SGYR*, and *RSCY*, of the ascent of the Wutai Mountains and of the incarnation of Mañjuśri as Gyōki in Japan, is lacking in *RMS*.

It would seem then, that we may legitimately regard the prefaces as making, in their layout, a clear distinction between the historical, and the recognizably legendary. Bodai and Buttetsu were names of personages known both to Hakuga and to Prince Sadayasu as having been identified with the transmission of *Bosatsu* to Japan. That Hakuga also knew of the tradition that *Tori* had been transmitted by the same agents is clear from the preface to 'The Bird' (Fascicle 3, p. 33). Lastly, if the 'rubrication' of quotations by ○ , in *SGYR*, has been correctly interpreted, Prince Sadayasu was also aware that *Bosatsu* was 'Champa-music'.

Returning to the final, remarkable passage, at the end of the preface in *RSCY*, with its reference to Moronaga as *Myō-non-in*: The name may be interpreted as 'The Mansion of the Wonderful Sound', the name of the religious residence being used for the person. 'Wonderful Sound' 妙音 referred (among other things) to the wonderful voice of the *Kalaviṇka* (Fascicle 3, p. 30); and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the unusually lengthy prefaces to that piece, and to *Bosatsu*, were prompted by that reference. The legend associated with the transmission of *Bosatsu* illustrates the powers of music; and both Moronaga's prefaces, and that of *RSCY*, repeat portions of the Tōdaiji account of the ceremony at which bird-boys and Devī performed, side by side, the former to the wonderful voice of 'The Bird', the latter to a music, the wonderful sound of which healed the blind and crippled. Some notion of the splendour of that ceremony may be gained from a photograph of a painting, showing the forecourt to the Hall of the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji, during the execution of 'The Bird', in the presence of the Brahmin High-Priest, Bodai, in Professor Kishibe Shigeo's study on the music of the old Silk Road[4] The painting itself, as Professor Kishibe kindly informs me, is of relatively recent date, not earlier, in all probability, than the turn of the century.

In addition to the sources from which prefaces to *Bosatsu* have already been considered, it has been possible, for this item, and with the collaboration of Dr Marett, to add a flute version from the early fourteenth century. A note on the flute sources by Dr Marett follows:

For the following transcription, two sources have been used; *Chū Ōga ryūteki yōroku-fu* 註大家竜笛要録譜 (?1320) (*CORYF*) and *Kaichū-fu* 懐中譜 (*KCF*) (see below with regard to dating). *KCF* contains two versions of the Prelude (*Jo*) headed respectively 'Large Bosatsu Prelude' (*Dai Bosatsu Jo*) and 'Small Bosatsu Prelude' (*Shō Bosatsu Jo*); it does not contain a Broaching (*Ha*). *CORYF* contains a Prelude (identical to the 'Small Bosatsu Prelude' of *KCF*, but here simply labelled 'Prelude (*Jo*)') and a Broaching (*Ha*).

Movements of Bosatsu in *CORYF* and *KCF*

| *KCF* | *CORYF* |
|---|---|
| Large Bosatsu Prelude | *** |
| Small Bosatsu Prelude | Prelude |
| *** | Broaching |

The date of the no-longer-extant original of *KCF* is problematic. Four copies of this score are at present available for study; all are of Edo period date.[5] For this transcription all four copies have been consulted. Although each copy records the following colophon, '*Kahō* 嘉保 second year (1095), seventh month: *Ōga no Sukune Koresue*' 大神宿禰惟季 , several features of the score advise caution in accepting this date. First, 1095 is one year after the death of its purported author, Ōga no Koresue (1026–1094). Secondly, the notation of *KCF* is in many cases identical with that of *CORYF* (thought to have been completed in 1330 by Yamanoi no Kagemitsu 山井景光 (1273–1354)), and appears to be of later date than that of *Motomasa-fu* 基政譜, a flute-score written in the early eleventh century by Koresue's son, Motomasa (1079–1138). Although *Motomasa-fu* is at present unavailable for study, a fragment of notation published by Dr Gamō Mitsuko[6] appears close to that of the tenth-century source *Hakuga fue-fu* and significantly earlier in style than either *KCF* or *CORYF*.

With regard to *CORYF*, at least 27 copies are known from catalogues and bibliographies; the whereabouts of only 22 of these is known at present, and of these fourteen are available for study. A score in one volume, dated *Gentoku* 元徳 second year (1330) is, perhaps, an author's holograph; this exists in a private collection but is not available for study.[7] Following inspection of all fourteen available copies, three have been selected as the basis for the present text:

1. A copy in seven volumes held in the Sonkei-kaku Bunko 尊経閣文庫 . Although the precise date of this score cannot, in the absence of a signed colophon, be known with any certainty, it is thought from observation of the physical nature of the manuscript, that it dates from the early Muromachi period, that is, the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Notations of the piece, *Koinju no Jo* 胡飲酒序 were added to the inside cover of the volume containing pieces in the *Sō-jō* mode in the late fifteenth century; we may conclude that, at the very least, the score predates these notations.

2. An abbreviated copy (*CORYF*) in five volumes held in the library of Tenri University. Although undated this appears to be an early copy of perhaps late-fourteenth or early-fifteenth-century date. Both notations and the order of pieces reveal a degree of independence from copy 1.

[4] 岸辺成雄 *Kodai shiruku rōdo no ongaku* 古代シルクロードの音樂 , 1982. See Plate 19, p. 35.

[5] Two copies, the *Inaba-shi kyūzō bon* 稲葉氏旧蔵本 and the *Eman'in-Monseki kyūzō bon* 円満院門跡旧蔵本 are held in the Research Archives for Japanese Music, Ueno Gakuen College; two copies, the *Shōheizaka gakumon-jo bon* 昌平坂学問所本 and the *Wagaku kōdan-sho bon* 和学講談所本 are held in the Naikaku Bunko 内閣文庫.

[6] Gamō, Mitsuko 満生美津子 , 'Meiji sentei-fu to kofu' 明治撰定譜と古譜 in *Gagakkai* 雅楽界 *53*, Tokyo, 1976.

[7] Hirade, Hisao 平出久雄 , 'Ōno-shi honke zōhin mokuroku; daini-shū, gaku-fu mokuroku', 多氏本家蔵品目録第二輯楽譜目録 in *Gakudō Sensho, daini kan*, 楽道選書第二巻 , Tokyo, 1942.

3. A copy in two volumes known as *Ryūgin-shō* 竜吟抄 held in the *Inaba-shi kyūzō* 稲葉氏旧蔵 collection of the Research Archives for Japanese Music, Ueno Gakuen College.[8] Although of Edo period date, this copy displays a greater degree of independence from 1 and 2 than any other source consulted. More complete studies of the sources of *CORYF* and the principles of its notation are at present in preparation.

With regard to the Preludes, both Large and Small, to Bosatsu, it should be understood that at this stage transcriptions are largely experimental – to be regarded as little more than a tentative first step. (A.J.M.)

[8] For further details see Fukushima, Kazuo, 福島和夫, *Nihon ongaku shiryō-ten shutchin mokuroku* 日本音楽資料展出陳目録 (Ueno Gakuen Nihon Ongaku shiryō-shitsu, daigokai tokubetsu tenran) 上野学園日本音楽資料室第五回特別展覧, Tokyo, 1979.

**'BODHISATTVAS'** ***Bosatsu/Pusa*** **菩薩**
***WAY-WALKING Michi-yuki/Daoxing*** **道行 or**
***BROACHING Ha/Po*** **破**

[1] *CORYF*: The configuration 由リリ resembles the configuration used in *HFF* to notate a mordent (Marett, 1977, p. 11).

[2] *CORYF*: The *kobyōshi* dot is misplaced in the Sonkei-kaku Bunko copy: '夕中火夕ニリ'; both the Tenri copy and *Ryūgin-shō* have '夕中火夕ニリ'.

[3] *CORYF*: Where the precise reading is uncertain, a suggested reading is added above.

[4] *CORYF*: 火 is omitted in the Sonkei-kaku Bunko copy (Tenri, *Ryūgin-shō*).

[1] *JCYR* (right): flute-tablature

[2] *JCYR* (right): 下 (?)

[3] *JCYR* (right): 'one version states 京'
[= 京方 *Kyōto kata*?]

[1] *SGYR*(right): *Shichū-fu*

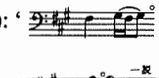
[5] *CORYF*: The *kobyōshi* dot is misplaced in the *Sonkei-kaku Bunko* copy, thus: '百ニ中ニタ'; Tenri and *Ryūgin-shō* have '百ニ中ニタ'.

[4] *JCYR* (right): 'one version states ' 京

[5] *JCYR* dot supplied

[6] *JCYR* (right): 'one version states ' 京

[7] *JCYR* (right): flute-tablature

[2] *SGYR* (right): '  one version states'

[3] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

[6] *CORYF*: It is unclear whether in figures such as 丁由ニ and 五由ニ the ニ sign indicates repetition of the preceding tablature sign or the mordent indicator; in the present version the former solution is provisionally accepted.

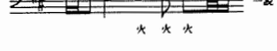
[7] *CORYF*: The precise meaning of the sign 勫 (*dō/dong* 'movement') is not known. In present-day *Tōgaku* practice it notates the ornament, *ugoku* defined by Garfias as 'to roll the finger quickly off the note and replace it rapidly' (see Garfias, 1964, p. 139).

[8] *JCYR*: (lengthy glosses appended in flute-tablature and zither-tablature, variants of **1** and **2**): 'one version states

[9] *JCYR*: (lengthy glosses appended in flute tablature and zither tablature): 'one version states

* *(left): (gloss to gloss)*

[4] *SGYR*



*WAY-WALKING*

(*SGYR* 'secondary version' – Fujiwara tradition)

(*SSSTF*)

(alternative opening)

[1] *SGYR* (left):

[2] *SGYR* (left):

[3] *SGYR* (left):

one version states (Note original brackets enclosing received text from 百**3**.)

[4] *SGYR* (left):

[5] *SGYR* (left):

**Appended glosses A-D** (reference locus not shown in manuscript). Inspection reveals that these are all variants of drum-beat periods in the *Prelude*.

A 'one version states


(see drum-beat periods 2 and 8)

B 'one version states

(see drum-beat periods 4–6 inclusive. The glosses suggest that the first binary unit of the mouth-organ version may have been treated as a double unit.)

C 'one version states

(see drum-beat periods 8 and 9)

D 'one version states ' (see drum-beat period 12)

This version – as so many of Moronaga's secondary versions – is in the syncopated rhythmic mode *Gakubyōshi* (p. 121). It is also, in a sense, an augmented version, in that the measure length is here sixteen crotchet/quarter-note beats in length, and the main *taiko*-beat falls on the thirteenth beat. As a consequence, the piece is in four measures only. This is the number of *taiko*-beats specified in *SSSTF*; and the *SSSTF* version of the *Broaching* is shown on a stave above the lute version, but notated by reading the dots (*kobyōshi* and *taiko*-dots) as for *gakubyōshi* (p. 121). In reading the mouth-organ version in the rhythmically simple fashion (p. 126), the *taiko*-beats in alternate measures of eight are marked by hollow dots, the first of which is differentiated by an oblique stroke: ○̀. Clearly the version of the *Broaching* in *SSSTF* was intended to be read in two ways: as measures of eight, with *taiko*-beat on the fifth beat; and as measures of sixteen, with *taiko*-beat on the twelfth beat.

It is curious that the modified incipit (*Kandō*) of the lute-version reverts to two measures of eight, with *taiko*-beats on the fifth beat. The incipit in *SSSTF* is only eight beats long and shows a *taiko*-beat (marked by *hyaku* 百 ) on the fifth beat.

*SSSTF* notes a variant *gakubyōshi* opening, with interversion of binary units, and amounting to ten rather than to the eight beats that precede the *taiko*-stroke in *SGYR*. In number of beats, this incipit matches the opening of the piece in *JCYR*; but the pitches do not match.

A further note in *SSSTF* states that when the music of the *Broaching* is used for the *Way-Walking*, one plays from the modified incipit. This means that the first measure of the piece is then completed as a measure of sixteen beats.

## *PRELUDE Jo/Xu* 序 (*KCF* 'Large *Bodhisattvas-Prelude*')
## (*JCYR, SGYR* 'primary version' – ? Minamoto tradition)

[1] *JCYR* (right): flute gloss

[2] *JCYR* (left): flute gloss

[3] *JCYR*: sharpening dot supplied

[4] *JCYR*: sharpening dot supplied

[5] *JCYR*: superfluous *roku* 六 (*g*) editorially replaced by *ka* 火

[6] *JCYR*: slur supplied in transcription

[7] *JCYR* (left): flute gloss

[8] *JCYR*: ligature supplied

[1] *SGYR* (right): '[illegible] one version states'

[2] *SGYR* (right): 'one version states without *tei* 丁・一説无丁

[3] *SGYR* (right): '[illegible] one version states'

[4] *SGYR* (left): *ka* 火 'one version states (secretly) not the same 一説ヒ不同 ,

[5] *SGYR* (left): *ka* 火 'one version states'

由リリ　由リリ　百

リ火　火

4

9　百

火　引丁

6　引丁
百

百

リ　火　リ　火

5

10　百

〔引〕　火　引丁

7　引丁
百

由リリ　由リリ　百

火

6

二

11, 12　百

引丁

8　引丁
百

9 *JCYR* (left): flute gloss


10 *JCYR* (right): flute gloss


11 ligature supplied

12 *JCYR* (right): flute gloss


6 *SGYR* (right): ‘ one version states’

7 *SGYR* (right): ‘one version states same as the preceding’
一説同上

8 *SGYR* (right): ‘ one version states’

13 *JCYR* (right): flute gloss

14 *JCYR*: sharpening dot supplied

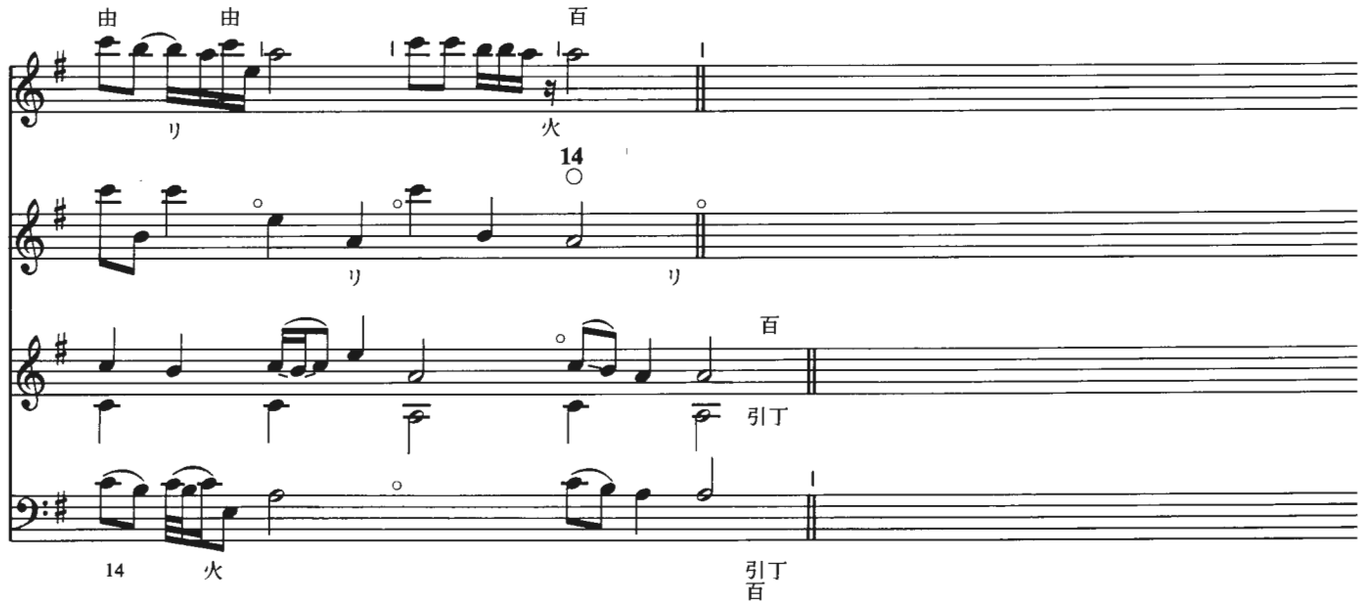
9 *SGYR* (left): *hiku* 引 'one version states'

10 *SGYR* (left): ' one version states

11 *SGYR* (right) 'The version of Tokimoto [1058–1123, of the Toyohara clan, the bearers of the mouth-organ tradition, see Fascicle 1, p. 33] does not have this *taiko*-beat. The beat [百] falls on E (乙).'
時元説無此拍乙百

[12] *SGYR* (right): '~~一般~~ one version states'

[13] *SGYR* (left): *hyaku* 百 Tokimoto

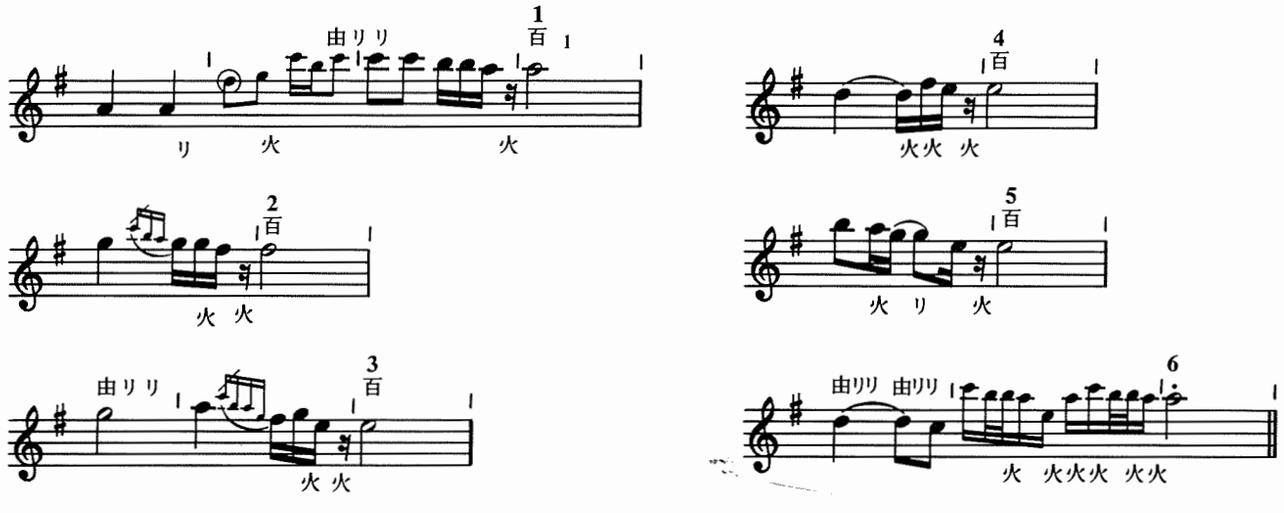



[14] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

**Variant *Prelude***
**(*SGYR* 'secondary version'– ? Fujiwara tradition; *SSSTF*)**

4
延
引丁
百
5
引丁
百
由
由
6
〔二〕延
火
丁
百
7
由
ス
延
半序
火
引丁
百
由
由
8
二
ヌ
延
火
〔火〕
引丁
百
9
由
引丁
百

***PRELUDE Jo/Xu* 序**
**(*CORYF, KCF*: 'Small *Bodhisattvas-Prelude*')**




[1] Only in the *Inaba-bon* copy of *KCF* is the *taiko*-beat marked with 百; in the other three copies a large dot is used.

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

From several points of view, the two movements subsumed under the title: *Bosatsu*, are unique. First, in the change of mode-key from *Way-Walking* to *Prelude* and from *Prelude* to *Broaching* (= *Way-Walking*). This is so carefully specified in the string-parts of Moronaga that there can be little doubt of its being an archaic feature. Moreover, inspection of the more conservative, and unambiguously notated, mouth-organ versions reveals a built-in modal ambiguity in that particular movement, namely, that the first twelve crotchets/quarter-notes (of the *Broaching/Way-Walking*) are in *Ōshiki-chō*. Not until the cadence at the end of the fourth measure (still on A, the final of the *Ōshiki-chō*) does the melody begin to move towards *Ichikotsu-chō*, by introducing the filled, major third: F♯ED, where D is the prospective final. Yet again, disregarding repetitions, and omitting the opening As, the first phrase of the *Way-Walking* consists of the notes of the flute-cue, preserved in the string versions (p. 66): G E C B A. The entire *Prelude* (in *Ōshiki-chō*), when performed in sequence with the flute-cue, would appear to the hearers as an amplification of this phrase.

In the first half of the *Prelude* (down to the Half-Section *hanjō* 半帖), only modal final and dominant occupy drum-beat cadences; while in the second Half-Section, all cadences fall on the dominant until the penultimate system of the transcription, where the mouth-organ shows a drum-beat falling on the sub-final. Regarding the musical material in this 'period', it will be noted that only for the zither is this a single period. For flute, lute, and mouth-organ, it is two periods.

If, indeed (as suggested), the chant was sung to a formula such as the flute-cue, and between *Way-walking* and *Prelude*, it is clear that the *Prelude* would have continued, in instrumental, meditative, chant-like phrases, the burden of the chant itself. The archaic simplicity of the single mouth-organ version (*KF/HSFRK* only) is striking, moving, as it does, in crotchets/quarter-notes and minims/half-notes, with very occasional repeated quavers/eighth-notes or pairs of quavers – the second a passing-note or *échappé*. Four periods: 4, 5, 10, 11, are variants of a single formula, ending on the dominant. The melodic line itself shows a marked archaic tendency to segment into conjunct tetrachords: A G E, E D B. Both F♯ and C occur as occasional fillers.

The 'Small *Bodhisattvas-Prelude*' preserved by *CORYF* and *KCF* (p. 00), as inspection shows, consists of the slightly varied musical material of drum-beat periods 1 to 3, and 6, from the 'Large *Bodhisattvas-Prelude*' (as preserved in *KCF*). (References to *Dai Bosatsu* 大菩薩 in *KKS*, 6, p. 126), in the discussion of *Sangin chōgyūraku* 散吟打毬樂, and the use of this *Tōgaku* melody in the performance of the Buddhist hymn *Sanjūni-sō* 三十二相 (*KKS*, **72**) are *not* references to the 'Large *Bodhisattvas-Prelude*' but to the 'Great Bodhisattva' of a particular temple.)

The sense of musical continuity and consistency throughout the execution of this unique file-dance by Bodhisattvas must have been overwhelming and recalls the comment in *RMS* (p. 52): 'If the Sound of the Buddha's Name reaches out in *Ōshiki-chō*, this is grand, it has been said' *Butsumyō no koe no Ōshiki-chō ni itarikereba. kamaetaru koto tozo ii tsutaetaru.* 佛名のこゑの黄鍾調にいたりければ。かまへたる事とぞいひつたへたる。

## *Bosatsu* and the Champa *Free-Tune*

The topic of *Bosatsu* raises again (p. 2) not merely the matter of the Champa-music tradition but also that of the Champa *Free-Tune Rin'yū Ranjō* 林邑乱聲. The *HFF* includes both a *Ranjō* and a *Rin'yū Ranjō*. Both have been transcribed by Dr Marett, and both are very different in character from the surviving *Ranjō* published by Shiba in staff-notation (Shiba, 1972; see *maki* 4, pp. 178–201) Furthermore, the *Rin'yū Ranjō* from this tenth-century flute-source bears no resemblance to the Champa *Free-Tune* transcribed from *KKS* in Fascicle 3, p. 48. The piece, as transcribed by Dr Marett, consists of two Half-Sections (*Hanjō*), related to each other as original (8 bars of $\frac{4}{2}$) + repeat (with modified *incipit*– the first measure) (8 bars of $\frac{4}{2}$). In striking conflict, however, with what is stated in the *KKS* account to be the characteristic feature of the Champa *Free-Tune* (Fascicle 3, p. 48), the piece in *HFF* begins on the lowest **D** of the set of notes available to the flute (*ro* 口). In musical character, this *Free-Tune* is also profoundly different from anything shown by Shiba in his transcriptions; it is also unusual in itself in that each Half-Section segments into 5+3 measures of 8, rather than into 4+4, or 4×2 measures. Although the *C*♮ that determines the flavour of his Mixolydian piece is conspicuous in both Half-Sections, the cadential phrase in the last measure of each is from the pentatonic *Gong*-mode (*Gongdiao* 宮調) on *D*: BDED D, rather than C♮DED D.

## 'THE CHAMPA *FREE-TUNE*'[9]

## Transcription of *Rin'yū Ranjō* (A.J.M.)

[9] *HFF*, Copy A, see Marett, 1977. p. 2: folio 65

[1] This figure is a hypothetical interpretation of the sign *ren* 連 (defined in *HFF* as, 'move the fingers') as it might have been executed on a flute of Hakuga's time.

[2] The tablature signs 丁タ (C, A) appear to have been reduplicated in error in *Kandō* and both Half Sections. It has been suggested elsewhere, that accumulations of errors of this type in *HFF* result from an editorial policy whereby pieces written in abbreviated form (using standard signs for 'repeat', 'da capo', 'dal segno') in an earlier source, were copied out in full in HFF (Marett, 1976, pp. 137–51).

[3] The sign — is omitted in the Rakusaidō copy of *HFF* (Collection of the Research Archives for Japanese Music, Ueno Gakuen University, Tokyo) used as the principal source for this transcription. This is confirmed by the Aoki and Rakutei copies (Tokyo University of the Arts (Geijutsu Daigaku). For further details of extant sources for *HFF*, see Marett, 1978, pp. 171–3.

**Notes on notational symbols**

The sign ∘ (indicated in *HFF* by a red dot to the left of the tablature sign) indicates that a note is to be overblown.

The sign ⁓ (notated 由リリリ ) indicates that a mordent is to be executed at the beginning of the note.

The sign ⁓ (notated 由) indicates that a mordent is to be executed at the end of the note.

The sign | represents the sign *ichi* —, which marks off both phrases and metrical divisions.

[ ] indicates that a sign has been omitted.

For a more detailed description of the notation of *HFF*, see Marett, 1977, pp. 1–60.

[4] The rhythmic interpretation at this point is hypothetical. There is probably a lacuna; *Kandō* up to the Half-Section lacks one measure.

[5] The sign — has been omitted; see b. 4, 12, 27.

[6] The sign — has been omitted; see b. 7, 15, 22.

## Secular, amnesic, notational dyslexia in the reading of post-thirteenth-century flute notations of *Tōgaku* pieces

Inspection of the relationship between the various instrumental versions of the measured movement of *Bosatsu* (*JCYR* and *SGYR*, late twelfth century; *KF/HSFRK*, *c.* 1200; *SSSTF*, 1303 – see Fascicle 1, pp. 30, 31) reveals a tendency in the flute version (perhaps from 1330) for prolongation of the last note of a binary unit to lead to extension into the time-space of the following binary unit, so that temporal coincidence between principal pitches, in versions for all instruments, no longer exists. The loss of coincidence is conspicuous in the *Way-Walking/Broaching*: the flute arrives late at the beginning of measures 2, 3, 4, and 8, and late again at the beginning of the second measure of the modified *incipit*, after the incomplete first measure. Such postponement in the flute melody in relation to other versions is due to Dr Marett's consistent treatment of the sign *hiku* (see Glossary) as a prolongation sign, even when it is immediately associated with the archaic binary marker *ichi* (see Glossary). Others of our group (E.J.M., R.F.W., L.E.R.P.) regard the binary unit as an intact temporal unit, at least up to the end of the thirteenth century.

In Fascicle 1 (p. 40, n. 3), it was assumed that early manuscripts (as opposed to those of the nineteenth century, for example) may at times betray the superposition of an earlier on a later system of metrical notation. Marett (1976, see p. 37) distinguished no less than six different systems of notation in the *HFF*, systems retained by Minamoto no Hiromasa (Hakuga) in the compilation of that manuscript, retained presumably because, at the time of compilation, the significance of the older systems was not entirely clear, and the compiler risked falsification of the original copyists' intentions if he transferred from the older into the newer systems, in particular in regard to mensural aspects. Hakuga's decision in this matter is recorded by him at the end of his lengthy and precious colophon. Marett (ibid., p. 12) translated this statement as follows: 'For this score, however, I have adopted the tablature styles of those times' 但此譜以用當時之體爲宗. (A slightly more taut translation might be: 'But for this score, the principle has been to follow the then prevailing style of notation' (L.E.R.P.). The meaning is essentially the same.)

It follows that, in the creation of scores later in date than the *Hakuga fue-fu*, transcription, from manuscripts written according to different systems of notation, into a single standard system, must frequently have occurred. In this process, there must at times have been danger of uncertain or faulty reading, especially where signs were ambiguous – for example, where archaic *hiku* was used both as a prolongation sign and as a binary marker.

Wherever systems of notation are transmitted over a long period of time, what may be termed secular, amnesic, notational dyslexia – difficulties in reading, due to unintentional forgetting, or intentional neglect, of original significance – is to be observed. This phenomenon occurred many times in the history of music in the West and is to be observed in several areas of Japanese musical history. Mention may be made of the difficulties in the western context, in reading the earliest examples of neumatic systems of plainsong notation – insurmountable difficulties, indeed, in the case of the Mozarabic manuscripts, where no transcriptions into any system of 'heighted neums' exist; or to the process of combining notation-signs in later Byzantine manuscripts, where 'soundless' major-second signs (*soma*) came to be used for the sake of their dynamic value, to be applied in the execution of a *pneuma* (ascending third or fourth), the major-second intervallic significance of the sign being suppressed.

In the Japanese context, the phenomenon is evident in the *Saibara* tradition, as shown by the work of Dr Markham (1983, see vol. 1, pp. 257ff, 396). At the time when, in the seventeenth century, restoration of items from that repertory was first attempted, beginning with 'By the sea at Ise' *Ise no umi*, no feature of the mensural notations of *Saibara* in the *gaku-sō* and *biwa* scores of Moronaga was any longer understood. In the process of reconstruction – indeed, of recreation, in the seventeenth century, the original ostinato patterns were expanded and metrically transformed. The term '*gobyōshi*', for example, was reinterpreted. For Moronaga this was a percussion pattern of 'five clacks' within a measure of eight beats; for those undertaking the reconstructions, however, this pattern became a structure of five quite differently distributed clacks within a unit approximating to ten four-beat measures (Markham, ibid., pp. 298–304, for example). It is reported that the original *Saibara* tradition had been completely lost by the beginning of the sixteenth century; and judging by the neumatic flute notations (see later), it had virtually disappeared by the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Further areas of amnesia cover the earliest manuscripts of *Shōmyō*, today no longer readable. Even *Shōmyō* manuscripts notated in the *meyasu-hakase* neumatic style of the thirteenth century are not read today as they were originally.

In the view of E.J.M., R.F.W., and L.E.R.P., in the system of metrical notation adopted in post-tenth-century *Tōgaku* manuscripts, the binary unit – delimited by intracolumnary dots, by *ichi*-signs, or by *hiku*-signs, and in some manuscripts by all three, and frequently by two at once – is a standard, and temporally invariant, melodic cell, certainly up to the end of the thirteenth century. That is to say, up to this date, we do not believe that any portion of the duration of a single note ever extended beyond the time-limit of the binary unit in which the tablature-sign for that note was located.

As a further single example of cumulative over-specification, for the sake of clarity, and for the benefit of a later generation, mention may be made of the addition of flute tablature-signs to the complex neums of *Shōmyō*, and of (late) *Saibara* manuscripts, in *meyasu-hakase* notation. Such pitch-signs were unnecessary for those who understood *meyasu-hakase* notation at the time of its devising – just as *ichi*-signs or intracolumnary dots (returning to the beginning of this essay) were unnecessary for those who understood the functions of *hiku* as binary marker and as prolongation-sign. Here again, secular amnesia made necessary an additional system of pitch-specification, if a condition of progressive dyslexia was to be alleviated.

The printed flute-scores available today (Fascicle 1, p. 6, n. 4) appear to show that organization in terms of binary units is largely maintained. The only visible change in articulation is that, in some items, within a measure of eight beats (nowadays eight common-time bars), for example, the melodic material segments as 1+3+4 or 2+2+4, rather than 2+2+2+2, 'beats'. Such passages as the second of these, however, are by no means uncommon in scores of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. *Kakko* and *taiko* strokes are still marked as in manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The rhythmic details supplied (1) by the *shōga* in printed scores (the mnemonic syllabary, through the medium of which flute-players are taught), and (2) by Shiba's transcriptions, reveal, however, that the equal time-intervals, originally defined by intracolumnary dots, may be shortened by anticipation of a note from the following binary unit. Phrases for flute may also extend over three beats, rather than two (as shown in the previous paragraph) and may begin on what was, originally, the second 'beat' of a binary unit.

The only *hiku*, in the printed flute-scores, are used in the simple sense of prolongation and are placed in the main column of *shōga*-signs, rather than in the left-hand column of (smaller) flute tablature-signs. The notation in flute tablature serves (if required) to remind the performer of pitches, distinguishing between primary notes (historically the original notes of the *Tōgaku* melody or 'first generation' descendants of these) and secondary, decorative glosses, and offers a rough guide to the original temporal organization. However, the flute notation now offers no guide at all to the fine metrical details of modern performance; these have to be learned from a Teacher, and they are remembered through the medium of the *shōga*.

In striking contrast to the twelfth- and thirteenth-century traditions, simultaneity on the very last note of a piece is the *only* strictly observed simultaneity in modern performance. Even at a Half-Section (*Hanjō*), the flute is permitted to anticipate the first note of the first measure of the succeeding Half-Section. In enjoying this degree of freedom, the flute is uniquely privileged. The *hichiriki* phrases, on the other hand (in the *Sattō* of *Shunnō-den*, Shiba, 1972, **3**, pp. 303–10, for example), rarely extend beyond the end of an eight-beat measure – only twice in eight such measures. In the same time-space, flute phrases extend beyond the measure-limits in five instances: in three by anticipating the beginning of the following measure, in two by encroachment on the time-space of the following measure.

The evidence of Shiba's transcribed scores amounts to this: that *only* flute and *hichiriki* versions have been sub-

jected to a process of minor temporal disarticulation, which has led to loss of temporal coincidence of principal pitches in all instrumental versions; furthermore, disarticulation is greater for the flute version than for that of the *hichiriki*. Whether, at some point in time, reading flute-tablatures of the fourteenth century by the method adopted by Marett has contributed to the present condition of the flute tradition is a matter for detailed future enquiry. It is, however, to be stressed that once the original *Tōgaku* melody was no longer to be grasped by performers and listeners alike as a melody, because of slowing down in performance, the way was open to progressive disarticulation. In its turn, original decorative glosses became a new primary melody, subject to modal transformation as well as temporal distortion. The Japanese preference for anacrusic musical lines will then, of itself, have led to across-the-barline phrases.

The flute-scores of the Meiji *Sentei-fu* 撰定譜[10] (on which the modern printed scores are based) demonstrate that all the complexities of notation, with which A.J.M. has wrestled, were discarded at the time of that re-editing. Ignoring the use of *shōga*, the flute notation reverted to the simplest possible thirteenth-century type of notation, making use of size and position to differentiate between primary and secondary pitches, making use of *kobyōshi*, *taiko*-dots, and intracolumnary dots, to define a metrical structure of archaic simplicity, in terms of binary unitary articulation, even though distorted by received performance-practice. That is to say, for whatever historical reason or reasons, the reading of the flute-tablature as printed today betrays dyslexia.

If it be objected that there is no dyslexia – no *difficulty in reading* – but rather an intentional re-reading of the notation, a using of the notation as a non-prescriptive aide-mémoire, this is a view that cannot be sustained. There prevails rather a total alexia in that the original melody is no longer perceived by the performers. That the flute and *hichiriki* notations of the modern part-books, if read – accepting them as they stand – in terms of the thirteenth-century conventions they adopt in setting out the parts, yield immediately recognizable variations on the original melodies, with principal pitches in coincidence with other instruments, was made abundantly plain by Dr Jonathan Condit when, in 1975–6 he transcribed the entire printed repertories for use in experimental performances of Tang-Music by our Tang-Music Group in Cambridge. Restoring the Heian modalities, accepting the metrical indications of the flute and *hichiriki* notations, key-signatures and accidentals from the mouth-organ parts, fine rhythmic detail from Shiba's transcriptions and from the *shōga*, and octave-levels and the rhythm of or from Shiba, Condit showed that even the most elaborate flute, and *hichiriki*, versions are immediately recognizable variations on the original Tang-Music melodies. Indeed, save for the finest detail, they must have been consciously devised as decorative versions of that melody at a time when the melody itself was still perceived as such. Time, and associated secular amnesia, have made possible present-day performance-practice by introducing cumulative dyslexia.

No criticism of tradition or performers is implied by this observation. It means no more than that the history of this genre of Japanese music reveals the same kinds of secular process at work as those seen to be operative in the history of musical genres in the West.

As a last observation it may be mentioned that, if the pace of performance be restored to that probable for the pieces in their Tang versions, the temporal disarticulation of flute and *hichiriki* versions would be almost imperceptible: an anticipation by one quaver at today's pace would be no more than a demisemiquaver at the probable Tang pace: a prolongation by one crotchet at today's pace would be no more than a semiquaver at the probable Tang pace. It is the two factors of pace and modality of flute and *hichiriki* versions which have principally transformed *Tōgaku* performance to its present condition.

[10] The 'Choice Scores', for use in the Palace Music Division, Tokyo, prepared for private performance by the Palace Musicians in the Meiji period.

# 17

# 'The Vinous Sogdian' (=The Wine-Puppet)
# *Shukōshi* or *Shukoshi* or *Sukoshi/Jiu Huzi:* 酒胡子

## The title and its significance

As it stands, the title describes a foreigner, a *Huzi*, and in a Tang-period context, a Sogdian, is implied. The Sogdian is qualified as 'of wine' – literally 'vinous', and presumably is a Sogdian addicted to the enjoyment of wine (see also p. 1). For the Tang Chinese, this seems indeed to have been an attribute generally assigned to the inhabitants of Sogdiana. However, the title also has a very specific and charming significance, not to be guessed from the words, and first made plain by Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助(*Tōshi sōshō* 唐史叢鈔 pp. 75, 88 (Tokyo 1984) (see Schafer, 1963, p. 23). Ishida describes how, in the drinking- and prostitution-houses of the Tang capital, Changan, after the guests had eaten, and while the wine-cups were circulating, the wine-puppet and suchlike diversions were brought out. The guest who was in line with the direction in which the puppet fell down somehow thereby acquired reason to empty a bowl of wine. In his explanatory note on the nature of the wine-puppet, Ishida noted that it was also called 'The Immortal in the Grip of Intoxication' *Buzui xian* 捕醉仙. In external appearance it resembled toys such as 'The Old Man Who Won't Fall Down' *Futō-ō* 不倒翁 (a little, self-righting, Buddhist-priest). It was a toy in the shape of a mannikin in the likeness of a Sogdian, wearing a Sogdian cap, with deep-set eyes and prominent nose, purple beard, and green eyes – the details differ somewhat from Schafer's account. While Ishida adds that Tang poets briefly describe the shape and construction of such puppets, he unfortunately gives no references. So far, enquiry among colleagues well-read in that literature has yielded no other sources of information.

*RMS* spells the title in *katakana* as *Sukoshi*, and this reading has been adopted here.

## History of pieces of this, or related, title

In *GKR*, both *Honpōgaku-setsu* and *Gakukō-mokuroku* equate *Sukoshi/Jiu Huzi* with the title 'The Drunken Lordling' *Zui Gongzi* 醉公子 in the 'Names of Pieces' listed in *JFJ*, but there seems no evidence for the association, frequently made in the Japanese sources – *WMRJS*, for example, also adds this alternative to *Sukoshi*. The matter of pieces referring to wine, and to Sogdian drinking-habits, was discussed briefly in relation to *Koinju/Hu yin jiu* (p. 2), and comparison of the scores of *Sukoshi* (p. 90) and *Koinju* (p. 7) establishes at a glance that, as Eckardt claimed (and contrary to the view expressed by Demiéville) these are different pieces.

*KKS* (6, p. 116, No. 32) states firmly and confidently that

> 'in Tang [that is to say, in the state of Tang-China] the title was *Zui Gongzi*. (This is a Chinese *Sangaku*-act.) Was it, therefore, a high-quality piece [in the eyes of] the people of Tang? Also, it is said that, when wine was served liberally, this was the music. A quick item. Four [?]. As a Tang item, add one beat; but a tradition of those of an earlier time says: beat it with eight *kakko*-beats, adding 'three-times' beats. Is this not usually done when it is used as a withdrawal tune?

## Prefatory comments in the manuscript sources

### *KF/HSFRK*

'The Vinous Sogdian'. Quick. New music. Of drum-beats, fourteen.
Also called 'The Drunken Lordling'. There is no dance.
酒胡子・新樂・拍子十四・又名醉公子・無舞

### *SSSTF*

'The Vinous Sogdian'. Of drum-beats, fourteen. Old music.
酒胡子 拍子十四 古樂

### *JCYR, SGYR*

'The Vinous Sogdian'. One name is 'The Drunken Lordling'. Of drum-beats, fourteen.
A small piece. Old music. There is no dance.
酒胡子一`名醉公子 拍`子十四 小`曲 古`樂旡舞

Nangū's *Score* states: 'Men of Tang made this tune for when they were drinking wine.'
南宮譜云唐人爲酒飲時爲此音聲

*RSCY* offers only a very brief preface, notes the alternative title, and claims the piece as 'old music' and as a 'small piece'.

**'THE WINE-PUPPET'**
**(*SGYR*: primary version)**

[1] *JCYR*: slur supplied

[1] *SGYR* (right): ' one version states'

[2] *SGYR* (right): ' *Katsura-fu*'

[3] *SGYR* (right): '

[4] *SGYR* (right): ' one version states'

[5] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

[6] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

## 'THE WINE-PUPPET'
## (*SGYR*: secondary version)

[1] *SGYR* (left):

### Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

In addition to being one of the most engagingly attractive tunes of the *Ichikotsu-chō* group, 'The Vinous Sogdian' has the same kind of 'square', repeating structure as the *Quick* of 'Sogdians Drinking Wine' (p. 7). It may be represented as ‖: A B :‖ C B′ B ‖ , where each phrase consists of two $\frac{2}{2}$ measures, with cadences on *a′*, *d″*, *f♯″*, and *d″*, making a total of fourteen measures, and a structure unequally dividing into a group of eight and a group six measures.

Of modal interest is the fact that while the recent Meiji version (Fascicle 1, p. 6, n. 4) of the *shō* melody is pentatonic, lacking *g″* or either *c♯″* or *c♮‴*, as is the version in *KF/HSFRK*, the *SSSTF* version displays *c♮″* and transforms the phrase

(*KF/HSFRK*)

to

(*SSSTF* – ignoring the octave-leap on the *c♮‴*)

The strings, however, are again in the Lydian mode, but the sub-phrase is closer to the latter than to the former mouth-organ version:

(*JCYR*)

The pentatonic version (*KF/HSFRK*) is perhaps that closest to the hypothetical original melody, a popular tune sung in the wine-shops of Changan.

Altogether, in its structure of (2+2)×2+(2+2)+2 measures, consisting – effectively – of three phrases only (A, B, C), the tune is more 'Western' in character than any other tune in this mode-key group, with the exception of the *Quick* of the two suites 'The Bird' (*Tori*) (Fascicle 3, p. 43) and 'Sogdians Drinking Wine' (*Koinju*) (p. 7).

# 18

# 'The Wine is Clear'
# *Shusēshi* or *Shuseishi* or *Suseishi/Jiuqing zi/si/ci*
# 酒清子/酒清司/酒清詞/酒浄子

## The title and its significance

The four different graphic forms of the title probably all had at one time the same sound-value in Sino-Japanese: *Suseishi*, as spelled by *RMS* in the *katakana* syllabary. One might interpret them as: 'The Lyric (Chinese *ci*詞)on the Clarity (or clarification) of Wine' (酒清詞) (*JCYR*, *SGYR*), or 'The Officer-in-Charge of Wine-Clarification' (酒清司) (*JCYR*, *SGYR*, *SSSTF*), or 'The Wine is Clear' 酒清子) (*RMS*), or 'The Wine is Pure'[1] (酒浄子) (*WMRJS*) – both latter titles with 子 as an enclitic particle. The title evidently refers to that desired condition of any wine when, with age, turbidity disappears. This occurs in relatively young grape-wine as the fine particles in suspension, following fermentation, aggregate under the influence of coagulants (isinglass, egg-shells, etc.) and precipitate out. The process occurs, however, no matter what the fermented vegetable substrate may be; and the title is not to be regarded necessarily as referring to wine from fermented grape-juice.

## The history of pieces of this, or related, title

The title has not so far been found in any Chinese source. 'The Wine-Spring *Jiuquan zi*: 酒泉子, is the only title in *JFJ* which begins with the lexigraph 'wine' (酒) and this is, in all probability, the name of a place in Gansu Provice, known as such since the beginning of the Christian era. While *JCYR*, *SGYR*, *RSCY*, *RMS*, and *KKS*, all class the piece as 'old music', no Japanese source refers to any possible origin in Tang China; indeed *RMS* only recalls a comment from the *Sadaijin* (Minister of the Left) of the Horikawa Emperor, presumably in the eleventh century. All sources agree that it is a piece without a dance. The prefaces in *JCYR* and *SGYR* perhaps imply that it was a piece but rarely played in Moronaga's time, since the precise number of repeats to be executed in performance has been left blank. *RSCY* also fails to state the number of repeats. This omission may well imply a fading tradition of performance in the twelfth century. *RMS* notes that 'this music was not transmitted by the *Daihōgan*' (that is, by Ōga no Koresue), and continues: 'The Lord Lay-Priest, the Sadaijin of Horikawa [Minamoto no Toshifusa] says also that the song called *Mayutojime*[2] is played to this tune' ほり川の左大臣俊房入道殿まゆとじめといふうたをふくなりと仰らる。. *KKS* (6, p. 116, **31**) repeats this observation, and having added by way of amplification that the piece is quick, with four *kakko*-beats to the measure, and to be played with 'three-times' beats, or at times (according to one version) with eight drum-beats, and even (according to another version) with six drum-beats (where the meaning is 'measure', not beats to the bar), according to

[1] In the title 酒浄子, the middle lexigraph would now be read as *jō*; but 清 also may be read either as *shō* or *sei*, and 浄 may be used as an alternative to 清. It seems probable that 酒浄子 too was read as *Suseishi* in Heian times.

[2] The meaning of this title, written with Chinese lexigraphs as 眉止自女, is disputed. In this form, it is the term applied to a woman who does not pluck her eyebrows. Alternatively (but not, of course, written with these lexigraphs), the word *mayutojime* might mean (it is said) a female groom.

Owari no Norinasu 尾張則成, continues: 'Therefore the Lord Lay-Priest in his gracious conversation states that *Suseishi* at the same time is the *Broaching* of "Repaying the Virtue of the Sogdian-with-the-Nose" *Henbi Kotoku*, 故入道大臣御談曰、「酒清司」幷「返鼻胡徳」之破 .

Concerning the statement about 'playing' [blowing] the *Saibara* piece *Mayutojime*, *RMS* adds an emphatic and idiomatic 'this is true' ('in differing there is no difference' *koto ni tagau koto nashi* ことにたがふことなし。).

Dr Elizabeth Markham has already set out in parallel *Suseishi* (from *SGYR*, transposed from *Ichikotsu-chō* to *Sōjō* for ease of comparison) with *Mayutojime* (also from *SGYR*) (Markham, 1983, vol. 1, p. 207), and provides a complete transcription of zither and lute parts, together with a reconstructed vocal line, for the *Saibara* piece (ibid., vol. 2, p. 270).

The use of the *Suseishi* melody for a *Saibara* lyric brings important confirmation of the minimal age of the tune, *Suseishi*. The language of the *Saibara* texts is not earlier than, though at least as early as, the mid-tenth century.[3] This implies that the melody to which *Mayutojime* was sung belongs at latest to a period about two centuries before the completion of the *RMS*.

[3] As was explained to me in 1981 by Professor Tsukishima Hiroshi of Tokyo University, the leading authority on the history of the Japanese language (L.E.R.P.).

## Prefatory comments in the manuscript sources

### *SSSTF*

'The Wine is Clear'
酒清司

### *JCYR, SGYR*

'The Wine is Clear' Of 司 some make 詞. Of drum-beats, eight. A small piece. Old music. *Shichiku-fu* (The Silk & Bamboo Score) states: 'Should be played ( ) times. In the last time strike 'three-times' beats. There is no dance.'

(SGYR shows a bracket from 可 to 帖; but no attempt is made to resolve the uncertainty regarding the number of repeats.)

酒清司 司或作詞 拍` 子八 小` 曲 古` 樂 絲
竹譜云可彈〔 〕反 終帖打三度拍子 乍舞

### *RSCY*

'The Wine is Clear' Old music. Of drum-beats, eight. Small piece.
酒清司 古樂 拍子八 小曲

[1] *JCYR* (left): flute gloss

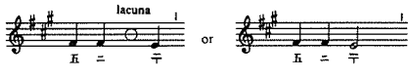
[2] *JCYR* (left): flute gloss

[3] *JCYR* (left):

[1] *SGYR* (left):

[2] *SGYR* (left): ' → one version states'

[4] *JCYR* (left): flute gloss




[5] *JCYR* (left):

[3] *SGYR* (left): '

one version states'

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

A remarkable feature of this piece is the chromaticism of the mouth-organ version as preserved in the Meiji and post-Meiji part-books (Fascicle 1, p. 6, n. 4). This chromaticism is also implied, however, by the glosses in *SSSTF* from the first years of the fourteenth century (the piece does not occur in *KF/HSFRK*). A further singularity, not hitherto encountered, is that the measure-length of the string-parts is twice that in the Meiji version, and the agreement between mouth-organ and string-parts is poor in measure 4. Agreement is also poor between *SSSTF* and the Meiji version in measures 4 to 6. As the score shows (p. 94), perhaps the more natural interpretation of the *SSSTF* version is as a piece in measures of $\frac{2}{2}$. Discrepancies between mouth-organ and strings suggest perhaps that the piece may have been played, over a certain time-interval, by strings alone, or by winds alone, during which time, the string-parts underwent expansion (*nobeyobyōshi*), each crotchet of the original mouth-organ part being replaced by the equivalent of two crotchets.

Notwithstanding these irregularities, the primary structure was evidently one of eight measures, and this is confirmed by the prefaces to *JCYR*, *SGYR*, and *RSCY*. In the Meiji version, this structure segments as 4+4; but in *SSSTF* and in the string-parts, this segmentation is not evident. In the string-parts, the individual $\frac{4}{2}$ measures themselves take on the character of phrases, and only the first two measures clearly constitute an entire phrase – a musical line moving towards a lengthened cadence.

It is disturbing that the tune is not known to *KF/HSFRK*, and that the version in *SSSTF* is notated differently. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that the Meiji version is the result of melodic 'tidying up', during revision of the *Tōgaku* repertory in the period of the Meiji restoration, since the mouth-organ part was surely no longer regarded as, or heard as, a melodic line by then.

# 19

# 'Drinking Wine'
# *Onjuraku/Yinjiu yue* 飲酒樂

## The title and its significance

Compared with other titles of short pieces in this mode-key group, there is little uncertainty regarding the meaning of *Onjuraku*. Another piece-title, noted in certain Japanese sources: 'Banquet-Drinking' *En-inraku* or *En-onraku/ Yanyin yue* 宴飲樂 may be an alternative to this.

## The history of pieces of this, or related, title

The title, *Yinjiu yue*, occurs in *JGL* in the list of pieces in the *Shang* 商 (Mixolydian) mode on the absolute pitch *Taicou* 太簇; otherwise, the piece seems not to be mentioned in Chinese sources. It does not appear in *YFZL*; nor is any performance recorded in *KKCMJ*. *KKS* (6, p. 116) only has knowledge of an *Onjuraku* in *Taishiki-chō* 大食調 (Mixolydian on E). A version in the *Kojiki-chō* 乞食調 mode-key group is present in *JCYR* and *SGYR* (8). This mode is in fact a subdivision of *Taishiki-chō* observed by Moronaga. The *Gogen kin-fu* of 842 also includes a version of *Onjuraku* in *Taishiki-chō* (Wolpert, 1981, see p. 124, item 11); but there is no resemblance between this version and the version in *Ichikotsu-chō* (see later, p. 101). As noted, *KKS*, has nothing to say regarding the piece in that mode-key group, and nothing to say about the origin of the piece in *Taishiki-chō*:

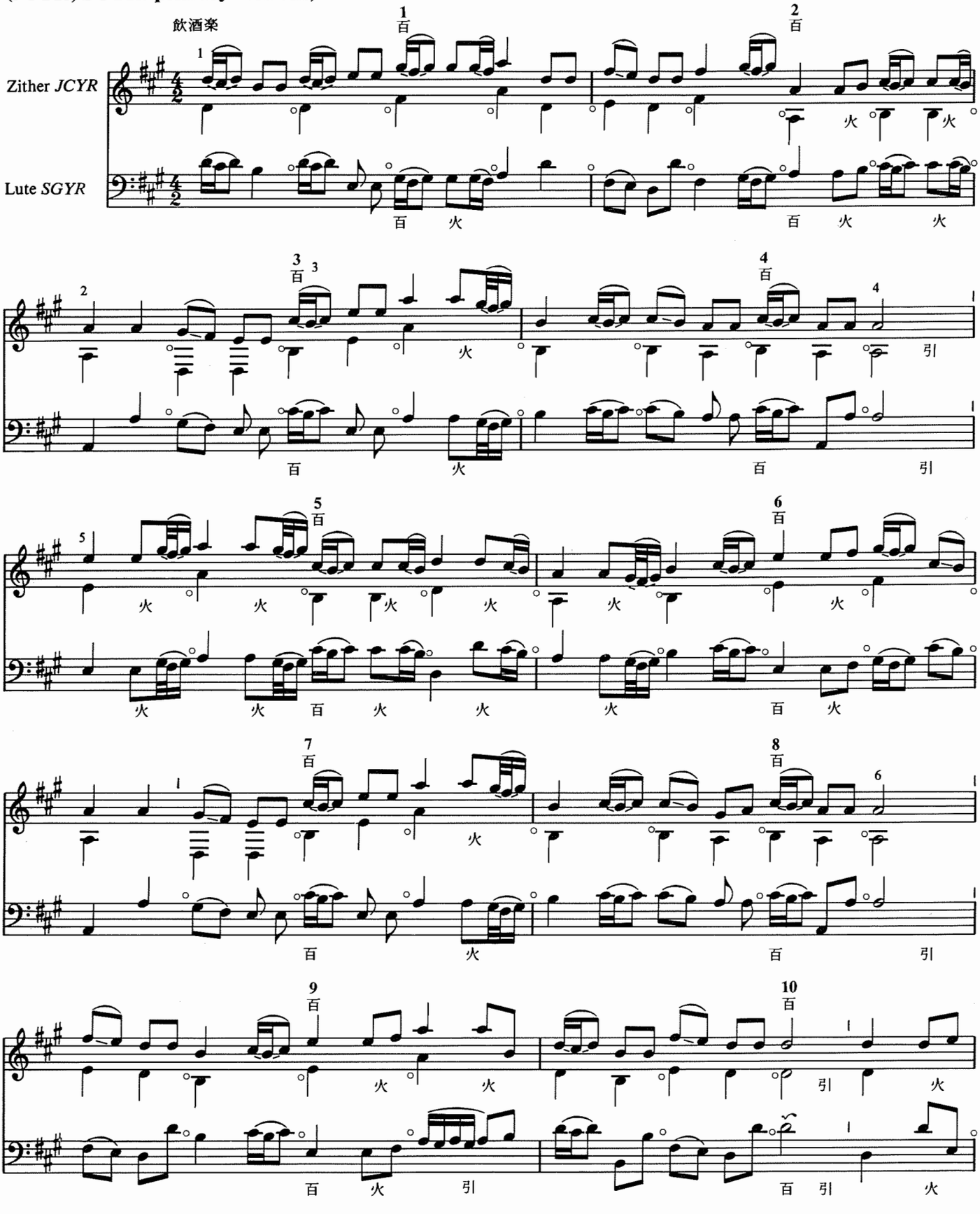
As to this music, at the time of the honourable Spring-day visit to the temple, made by those under the jurisdiction of the Clan-Senior [of the Fujiwara], when they drink and banquet in the Deer-Park Palace [Rokuen-in], they play this piece ('three-times' beats are to be added). Marking the time, they played the transposed [version of] 'Sweet Intoxication' *Kansuiraku* [see Appendix 3; this was originally a piece from the *Komagaku*-repertory. Its description as 'transposed' may mean, literally, that it was played in a different key and tuning, or that it was performed in the style of a *Tōgaku*-piece, using *ryūteki* instead of *Koma-bue*, and *kakko* instead of *san-no-tsuzumi*, for example.]. It was customary to use this music. Until recently, it [that is: *Onjuraku*] was played as ten measures repeated. The internal ten measures [are to be treated as] a Half-Section, it is said; or as two Sections, it is said. It is also said that this piece is included in the *Kojiki-chō* [mode-key group or] as a *Sei-chō* piece [in *Ichikotsu Sei-chō*?]. A certain court-noble graciously observed that in *this* mode-key one says *Onjuraku*; but in *Ichikotsu-chō* one reads *Injuraku*. The lexigraphs are the same, however, but the mode-key is changed.
Who made this music has not yet been determined.
此楽、長者殿下御春日詣之時、鹿薗院進飲飩之時、奏此曲。加三度拍子。ウチマカセテハ、『酣酔楽』渡吹也。例ニヨリテ此楽ヲバ被用也。近来ハ、十拍子ヲ返々吹之。奥十拍子ヲバ半帖云、ヌニ帖云。又、此曲入乞食調，性調曲云。或公卿被仰〔シハ〕、此調ニテハ『飲酒楽』云、壱越調ニテハ『飲酒楽』トヨム。文字一ナレドモ、調〔子〕ニヨツテ替ル也。此楽作者、未勘出〔之〕。

## Prefatory comments in the manuscipt sources

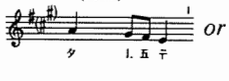
### *JCYR, SGYR, RSCY*

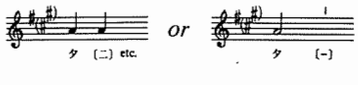
'Drinking Wine'. Of drum-beats, twenty.
• 飲酒樂 拍子廿 (*or* 二十)

**'DRINKING WINE'**
**(*JCYR*, *SGYR*: primary versions)**




[1] *JCYR* (right): flute gloss

[2] *JCYR* (right): flute gloss  *or*



[3] *JCYR* (left): flute gloss

[4] *JCYR* slur supplied (but perhaps broken-octave intended)

[5] *JCYR* (right): flute gloss

[6] *JCYR* (as 4)

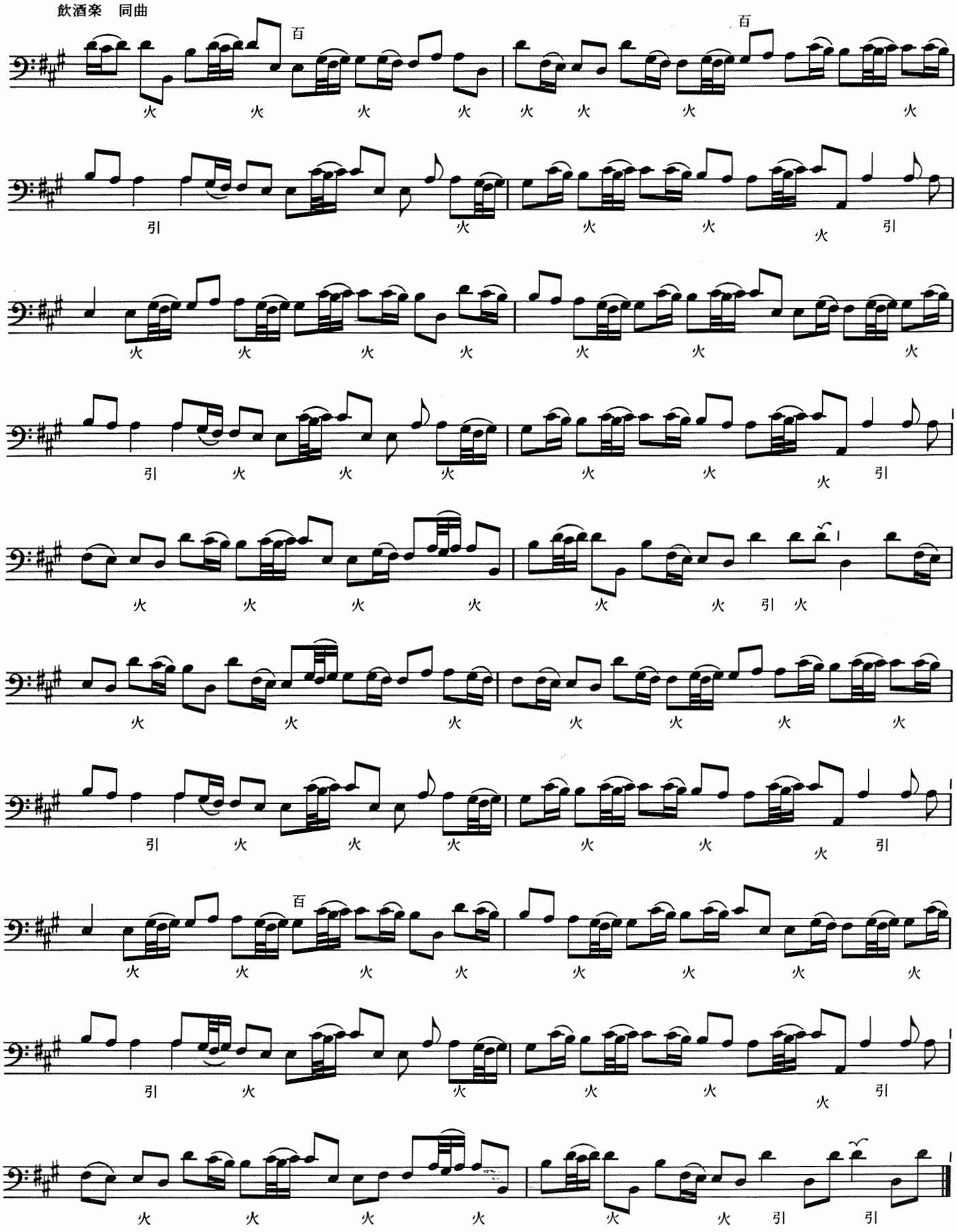
[7] *JCYR* ligature supplied

[8] *JCYR* (as 4, 6)

[9] *JCYR* slur supplied

[10] *JCYR* (as 4, 6, and 8)

**'DRINKING WINE'**
**(*SGYR*: secondary version)**



## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

While the manuscripts for stringed instruments – *JCYR* and *RSCY* (zither), *SGYR* (lute) – state merely that there are twenty drum-beats [≡ measures] to the piece, *KKS* observes, in regard to the version in *Taishiki-chō*, that one authority states that the number of drum-beats is ten. Inspection of the transcription (p. 98) shows that this is also true of the version in *Ichikotsu-chō*: a repeat of a ten-measure structure is written out in full, with only minor and insignificant changes in the tablatures.

The tune consists of five, two-measure, musical lines: A B C B D, of which only B ends on a minim/half-note cadential *a'* at the end of the second measure. Other lines continue without a cadence, A into B, C into B; and even D, at its first appearance, is joined to the beginning of the repeat (A) by a quaver/eighth-note *e''*. The string versions of Moronaga are of course Lydian, with both *c*♯ and g♯. If we think of the mode as Mixolydian, however, it is clear that the piece would have been conspicuously Mixolydian, with extended use of both c♮ and g♮.

In *GKR*, the *GKMR* (32, p. 972) preserves two quatrains in sequence, the first in lines of six, the second in lines of five, monosyllabic words to the line. The repetition of a musical phrase B, in each group of five such phrases in the music, might be correlated with a corresponding repetition of the second text-line as an internal refrain in each quatrain; but the tune itself does not readily suffer reduction such that a six- or five-word line could be sung to two measures of eight crotchets/quarter-notes.

Grapes through the four seasons make fragrant, rich wine,
In glass goblets – one thousand! – offered to old guests.
At night when we drink, the dance slows, doors lock, candles flicker.
At dawn we sober up as the waning moon hastens us away.

葡萄四時芳醇
瑠璃千鍾奮賓
夜飲舞遲銷燭
朝醒弦促催人

When we drink wine, we must drink deep, for
Man's life, how long can it last?
Through our hundred years, we must have pleasure
And never weary of pipes, strings, and song.

飲酒須飲多
人生能幾何
百年須受樂
莫厭管絃歌[1]

[1] These translations owe much to suggestions from Dr Anne Birrell. These texts are to be found in *YFSJ* 74, p. 1049, 1050.

# 20

# 'A Coy Handful' *or* 'A Bevy of Beauties'
# *Ittokyō* or *Itokyō/Yituan jiao* 壹團嬌
# *or*
# 'A Handful' *or* 'A Bevy, A Group'
# *Ichitoraku or Itsutoraku/Yituan yue* 壹團樂
# *or*
# *'Returning to the Palace'*
# *Genkuraku/Huan Gong yue* 還宮樂

## The title and its significance

The fact that so many of the Japanese sources give this title in a form that cannot readily by construed, with the lexigraph 橋 'a bridge', rather than with the lexigraph 嬌 'beautiful, graceful' (both read as *kyō* in their *on* reading) – which alone makes sense – suggests that the title is indeed Chinese, notwithstanding the fact that it does not occur in *JFJ*, *JGL*, or *YFZL*. The grammatical construction is not uncommon in Chinese, both in concrete and in abstract significance. The lexigraph *tuan* was encountered in Fascicle 2 in the discussion of *Toraden/Tuanluanxuan* (p. 7). There the significance was dynamic: 'to coil'; here it is static: 'a mass, a lump, or a group'. The term is used in Chinese for 'ball', as in 'a ball of silk' 壹 (or 一) 團絲, for example; or in the idiomatic and colloquial expression 'a lump of good nature' 一團和氣, used for a person of agreeable character, for example. *WMRJS* substitutes 'music' for the third lexigraph, perhaps because of the incongruity of the lexigraph for 'bridge' in this position.

My friend, Professor T. C. Hsü, suggests that the lexigraph *jiao* 嬌 has overtones of coyness, of teasing grace, of coquettry, and for this reason the title might be translated as 'A Coy Handful' (strictly speaking it should be 'a handful of coyness'); my colleague, Professor Liu Fengxue (p. 61), insists that *tuan* here implies a group, a bevy. One thing at least is certain: *tuan* could not possibly be used as a numerary adjunct for a bridge or bridges. The substitution of the much more frequently occurring lexigraph 橋 for 嬌 was surely made on phonetic grounds; and the fact that this was possible, presumably means that the title was not understood. In Japanese, the lexigraph 嬌 has *only* an *on* reading and is used solely as an adjective: 'attractive', qualifying a second element.

## History of pieces of this, or related, title

This title occurs in no Tang-Chinese list of pieces so far examined; nor does it occur in the descriptive catalogues of *Tōgaku* items in *GKR* (*HPGS* or *GKMP*), nor indeed is there a mouth-organ score for this piece in the earlier manuscript *KF/HSFRK*. *KKS* (6, p. 116, **30**) begins its account with the statement that the music of this piece was 'made' by Ōto no Kiyogami; and the dance (subsequently lost) by Mishima Takekura (p. 00). Both *RMS* and *KKS* indicate or imply that the piece was not known to wind-players until the time of the Emperor Horikawa-in (1086–1107) (Fascicle 1, p. 56). *RMS* states that it is said not to have been transmitted by the *Daihōgan* 大判官 (Third in the Territorial Government of Kyūshū, the *Chinzei-fu* 鎭西府), namely, Ōga no Koresue; that is to say, it was unknown to the early wind-players of the Ōga clan. *KKS*, however, states firmly that the piece was in the tradition of Ōga no Koresue (1026–94), but that the important tradition of the family of the Assistant *Dainagon* (descendants of Fujiwara no Munetoshi 藤原宗俊) was bestowed on Koma no Yukitaka 狛行高. According to both *RMS* and *KKS*, it was by imperial decree that this piece was transferred from *biwa* to *fue*.

Considering first the more concise and less informative précis of the *KKS*:

In the time of Horikawa-in, it was established, by imperial decree, [that *Ittokyō*] be transferred, by Motomasa, from the *biwa*-score in Motonawa's family, to be played on the transverse-flute. [Motonawa 基繩 ≡ Minamoto no Mototsuna 源基綱]
堀川院御時有勅定基繩卿家自琵琶譜中以基政所移吹横笛也

The substantially longer account in the *RMS* has profound implications for the history of this piece and indeed for the history of the *Tōgaku* tradition as a whole:

In the time of Horikawa-in, [social standing] whether of the government or of the people, was not regarded. It was commanded that the Music Catalogues [and hence the musical repertories] of many families were to be submitted [for examination]. Only in the family-catalogue of Mototsuna *Chūnagon* [Minamoto no Mototsuna] was this piece found. An imperial message was sent to Motomasa, Lord of the *Nimbu*, the Lord Tadanori, saying: invite Mototsuna *Chūnagon* [to your home], and ordering Motomasa to transcribe *Ittokyō*, originally played on *biwa*, into a flute-score. And at that time, Motomasa was to be careful to notate properly, referring to older manuscripts. [It was] at the time of that command that the master's version became known. . .
堀河の院の御時。上下をろんぜず。諸家の樂目六をめしゝをり。基綱中納言家目録にのみ入たりしを。宣旨に云。基政民部卿忠教卿のいゑにまかりて。基綱中納言をまねきとりて。琵琶にひかれたなる一圓橋を。笛の譜にうつすべし。ふるき譜にろ。あはせて。宜敷やうにしるしてまいるべしと。仰せくだされたりしかば。そのさたのあひだ師説をしりたる也。

From this remarkable passage several points of importance emerge: (1) that *Ittokyō* had survived into the eleventh century as a *biwa* piece, apparently unknown to ensemble-performance. (2) The piece survived precisely in the *biwa* tradition of the most exalted of clans, the Minamoto, in what – on grounds already put forward – is probably to be regarded as the oldest *Tōgaku*-tradition in Japan. (3) Notwithstanding (a) the incomprehensibility of the title or (if correctly understood) the frivolous character of the title, (b) the simplicity of the music itself (p. 104), the piece was very deliberately chosen to be given wider currency – through transfer to the technically more accessible medium of the flute – by the Emperor Horikawa-in. (4) The passage reveals that, in this same century, an imperial enquiry into family-holdings of musical scores was made, regardless of the rank of those investigated. (5) It is plain that, just as the Fushimi-no-miya family already had its own catalogue of manuscripts when musical items from that family were presented to *Kunaichō Shoryōbu*, so also, in the eleventh century, 'musical' families maintained catalogues of the family musical manuscripts. (6) The mention of obligatory reference to *older* manuscripts (as there were seemingly no older *flute*-manuscripts) must refer to a range of *biwa*-manuscripts of varying date, in the possession of Minamoto no Mototsuna, since only in that catalogue was the piece to be found. This would appear to imply the existence, in the early eleventh century, of yet earlier lute-manuscripts of which no trace has survived.

## Prefatory comments in the manuscript sources

### *SSSTF*

'A Group of Bridges'. Of drum-beats, 17.
壹圓橋 拍子十七

### *JCYR*

'A Group of Bridges' Of 橋 some make 嬌. Of drum-beats, 17.
壹圓橋 拍子十七

One version states: 'In the second time and subsequently, from the second time onwards, each 'time' is 16 drum-beats [only].'
一説第二反以後毎反拍子十六

[Two upper marginal glosses] 'Exclude the first drum-beat at the beginning'
除初一拍子也

'If any one asks about the number of drum-beats per repeat, they should consider the testimony of the score.'
反数拍子尋可勘證譜

### *SGYR*

Draws attention to the *first* of the *JCYR* upper marginal glosses only; otherwise the preface is the same as in *JCYR*.

### *RSCY*

As *JCYR* and *SGYR* but for the omission of 尋 from the passage otherwise identical with the second upper marginal gloss in *JCYR*.

壹圖橋 反付

Mouth-Organ *SSSTF*

Zither *JCYR*

Lute *SGYR*

[1] *JCYR* (right): flute gloss

[2] *JCYR* (left): 'one version states'

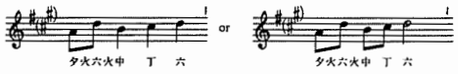
[3] *JCYR* (left): *Slur Supplied 'one version states'

[4] *JCYR* (left): flute gloss

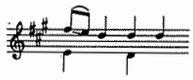
[1] *SGYR* (left):

[2] *SGYR* (left):

[5] *JCYR* (left): flute gloss



[6] *JCYR* (left): 'one version states'



[3] *SGYR* (left):

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

All the scores examined (*SSSTF, JCYR, SGYR, RSCY*) exhibit awareness of the fact that the repeating unit was in some versions reduced to 16 from 17 measures on repeat – indeed, *SSSTF* marks the *Segno. RMS* also states that it is the first measure that is to be discarded; while *KKS* merely states that one measure is to be treated as superfluous (*RMS* also might be read in that sense, perhaps), according to an oral tradition. Apart from two measures (10 and 15) that consist of repeated minims/half-notes, all measures are effectively isorhythmic: ♩ ♩ 𝅗𝅥 . In the mouth-organ part, the minim is either a sustained note or a pair of crotchets repeated; in the string-parts, the minims are mostly replaced by repeated notes or broken octaves.

Apart from the first measure, the piece may be regarded as segmenting into 8+8 measures, each half cadencing on *d*; but within these major segments, the phrases are not conspicuously defined, and the piece appears rather as a litany of ♩ ♩ 𝅗𝅥 measures than as an evident structure of (4+4)+(4+4), or indeed of 8×2. The mouth-organ part is hexatonic (*g*♮″ as auxiliary), while the string-parts are heptatonic (*g*♯′ and *c*♯″ as auxiliaries). The chain of thirds: *b′ d″ f*♯″ *a″*, with which the tune begins the repeat is, of course, an extraordinarily archaic gesture; and the abbreviation of this: *b′ f*♯″ *a″*, is that sequence of fifth and minor third, the presence of which in tunes from Central and East Asia is a melodic feature both archaic and characteristic of these regions.

Attention should be drawn to the rare percussion pattern preserved in *SSSTF*, namely, with only two beats to the measure marked – contrasting with the four beats of zither and lute. The absence of the piece from *KF/HSFRK* accords with the evidence of *RMS* and *KKS* that it was not originally known to wind players. It also suggests (or even reinforces the view, perhaps) that the Toyohara tradition preserves a version of the *Tōgaku* repertory which predates the eleventh century.

# 21

# Suite:[1] 'Martial Virtue' *Butokuraku* or *Futokuraku/Wude yue* 武德樂 *or* 'Martial Praise' *Bushōraku/Wusong yue* 武頌樂

## The title and its significance

The Chinese lexigraph *de* 德, though frequently translated as 'virtue', originally denoted the immanent power of things, both animate and inanimate; and to this extent its meaning and its meaning-extensions may be compared with those of Latin *virtus*. It was in this primal sense that Waley, for example, translated the ancient title *Daode jing* 道德經 as 'The Way & its Power'. While we may conveniently translate the title *Butokuraku/Wude yue* as 'Martial Virtue', the original and deeper significance is that of 'The Immanent Power of the Warrior'. The music itself suggests, however, that – if indeed it originated in China – for the men of Tang it was no more than a lively, spirited march, to be compared, say, with 'The British Grenadiers'. 'Western' in its structure though the tune appears to us, it is evidently of the same type as certain other 'popular' tunes that survive in this repertory: 'The Vinous Sogdian', 'Sogdians Drinking Wine', the *Quick* of 'The Palace of Congratulations', the *Quick* of 'The Bird', etc. Indeed, so 'Western' is this tune that its first two bars are of the same decorated, broken-triad structure as that of the first two bars of Purcell's 'Nymphs and Shepherds'.

## History of pieces of this, or related, title

This title does not occur in the lists of pieces performed in the Entertainment Music of the Tang Court (*JFJ*, *JGL*, *YFZL*). It does not occur in *WMRJS*, and no performance is recorded in *KKCMJ*. *KKS* (6, p. 115), remarking that it is not clear whether the piece is new or old music, begins with the claim that Han Gaozu made it. The editor suggests that 'Han' is mistakenly substituted for 'Tang'; and since the first reign-period of the Tang dynasty was indeed *Wude/Butoku*/Martial Virtue (618–26), the probability of the piece's being of Tang date would seem to be high. (The same attribution to Han Gaozu is made also in the *HPGS* (*GKR*, 31, p. 924).) The *KKS* account continues 'Whereupon it was played in the Martial-Virtue Hall at the Lesser Buddhist Ceremony in the Fifth Month.' *RMS* also records performance in this locality and on this occasion and adds that *Prelude* and *Broaching*, along with the dance, were already lost, presumably at the beginning of the twelfth century.

*KKS* next includes a statement from 'old records' *koki* 古記. This source is neither specified in the *KKS* text nor is it identified by the modern editors who merely determine the date: *Huangchu* 黃初, fourth year, of the Wei 魏 dynasty (220–64), as 223. This 'Wei dynasty' is one of the Three Kingdoms: Wei, Shu, and Wu, associated in the 'Annals of the Three Kingdoms' *Sanguo zhi* 三國志. The passage that follows this date, in 71 lexigraphs, is not from the body of the text, however, but from the commentary.

The *Sanguo zhi* itself covers events from the first year of the Huangchu reign-period of the Emperor Wen di of Wei, 220, to the first year of the Taikang 秦康 reign-period of the

[1] Already in the early twelfth century, only the *Quick Kyū/Ji* 急, survived.

Emperor Wu di of Western Jin 晋, 280, and was compiled by Chen Shou 陳壽 (d. 297) in the early years of Western Jin. More than 130 years after Chen Shou's death, Pei Songzhi 裴松之 prepared a commentary to the *Sanguo zhi* and completed this in 429. The passage cited in *KKS* is less a comment on, than an insertion into, the text of Chen Shou. Under the general heading of 'Fourth Year'[2] we read: 'That Autumn, on the Fourth Day of the Eighth Month, the former Governor of the Jail, Zhong Yao [*or* Zhou *or* Yu] was made Senior Captain.' At this point, the commentary of Pei Songzhi supplies an interpolation: 'The *Wei History* states:

An official of the Board of Sacrifices[3] memorialized The Throne, requesting changes at the Ancestral Temple of the Han-clan: that 'The Music of the Age of Peace' be called 'The Music of the Age of Uprightness'; that 'The Music of the Extremity of Excellence' be called 'The Music for Welcoming the Spirits'; that 'The Music of Martial Virtue' be called 'The Music of Martial Praise'; that 'The Music of the Glorious Appearance' be called 'The Music of Glorious Strength'; that 'The Dance of Elevated Clouds' be called 'The Dance of the Soaring Phoenix'; that 'The Dance of Nourishing Life' be called 'The Dance of Responding to the Spirits'; that 'The Dance of Martial Virtue' be called 'The Dance of Martial Praise'; that 'The Dance of the Beginning of Refinement' be called 'The Dance of the Great Summons'; that 'The Dance of the Five Elements' be called 'The great Martial Dance'.

秋八月丁卯以廷尉鍾繇爲太尉

魏書曰 有司奏改漢氏宗廟安世樂曰正世樂
嘉至樂曰迎靈樂武德樂曰武頌樂昭容樂曰昭業樂
雲(翻)〔翹〕舞曰風翔舞育命舞曰靈應舞武德曰武頌
舞文(昭)〔始〕舞曰大(昭)〔韶〕舞

三國志[4]

The *KKS* text differs at several points from the Song-dynasty text of the *Sanguo zhi*: for 'ancestral temple' (宗廟) it reads 'ancestral gravestones' (宗厝); for 'age of uprightness' (正世) it reads 'age of kings' (王世); for 'clouds curling upwards' (雲翹) it reads 'fluttering clouds' (雲翻); for 'beginning of refinement' (文始) it reads 'brightness of refinement' (文昭); for 'great summons' (大韶) it reads 'great brightness' (大昭).

From this passage, it is evident that both music and dance, linked with titles that include the word 'martial', or the words 'martial virtue', existed in a context of clan ritual-music in China at the beginning of the third century; it is of course highly improbable that there should be any musical link between the piece that survives and these ancient pieces, used at the Han-clan's ancestral temple. In passing it may be noted that the title 'Welcoming the Spirits' is that of an item in use in Korea, in Confucian rites, to this day.

That Koma no Chikazane too found any connection with the ritual music of Wei improbable is suggested in *KKS*, where this passage from Pei Songzhi is immediately followed by:

It is also said that this is a dance offered at the *Sumo* Wrestling-Festival. Fujiwara no Tadafusa, Courtier, Assistant Second-in-command to the Left Department of the Imperial Bodyguard, obedient to Imperial Decree, made and corrected it. As to the *Broaching*, at the present time, no one knows it. (Should be examined.) As to the *Quick*, increase the number of drum-beats [to the measure] by one beat; but when in religious use, beat 'three-times' beats. Although there was a *Prelude*, it has become extinct.
又云是爲相撲節献舞 左近衛權少將藤原忠房朝臣奉勅作改之 破今世無知人 ㄇ尋 急上一拍子 但法用之時打三度拍子 序アリケレドモ絶畢

*HPGS* adds an attribution from the *Tekisetsu*, so frequently cited in that work, and shows that *Tekisetsu* cannot be identified either with *HFF* or with the score due to Meisen (p. 36) – if the *Meichiku-fu* 明竹譜 is to be equated with that work. *HPGS* states that a certain Wang Zigong made the piece and played it when crossing the sea.

As on a previous occasion (Fascicle 3, p. 8), when the question was raised: whether Japanese scholars may have had access to a copy of the first recension of the 'Institutes' of Tang (subsequently known as the *Tang Huiyao*) in the ninth century, the occurrence of this extended quotation from the *Weishu* component of the *Sanguo zhi* prompts the question: whether this work was known in Japan in Heian times. In this instance, the ninth-century catalogue compiled by Fujiwara no Sasei 藤原佐世 (*Nihonkoku kenzai shomokuroku* 日本國見在書目録 ) already includes a copy of the *Sanguo zhi*, so that it was indeed quite possible for Han usage of this ancient title to be known as soon as the Mission to China of 838 returned to Japan in 841.[5]

[2] Zhonghua shuju edn 1959, *Wei Shu*, j. 2, pp. 82f.

[3] I am indebted to Professor Liu Fengxue for pointing out that the *Yousi* 有司 title was used as an abbreviation for the titles of a variety of officials attached to the Bureau of Sacrifices, including the *Taizhu* 太祝 'The Great Prayer-Master' (or even 'The Supreme Shaman') himself.

[4] j. 2, 21b, 22a; Zhonghua Shuju edn, j. 2 p. 83.

[5] The entry relating to this work in the transcript of the catalogue, published by the 小宮山出版株式会社 (Tokyo, 1976) is unfortunately corrupt. Whether this is due to errors in the original manuscript, or to errors in reading the original, cannot be determined. The name of the author of the commentary, Pei Songzhi 裴松之 , appears as Fei Duzhi 斐杜之 .

The Chinese text above is copied from the first, printed Song edition of the complete work (1003). The replacement (in succession) of 翻 by 翹, of 昭 by 始, and of 昭 by 韶, is suggested by the editor of the Zhonghua shuju edn (Beijing, 1973).

## Prefaces to the sources in tablature

### *KF/HSFRK*

'Martial Virtue' There is no dance.
*Quick* (quickly) Of drum-beats, 12.
武德樂・無舞●急ㄐㄧ・拍子十二

### *SSSTF*

'Martial Virtue'
*Quick* Of drum-beats, 12
武德樂 急 拍子十二

### *JCYR, SGYR*

'Martial Virtue'
*Prelude* Of drum-beats, 16. Said *Prelude* extinct.
●武德樂 序拍子十六件序斷了

*Broaching* Of drum-beats, 12.
破拍子十二

*Quick* Of drum-beats, 12. Chōshūkyō's *Transverse-Flute Score* states: 'The Assistant Second-in-Command[6] of the Household Troops of the Left, Fujiwara no Tadafusa, made it.'
急拍子十二 長秋卿橫笛譜云左近衛權少將藤原忠房作

*RSCY* notes that the drum-beats (=the music) of *Prelude* and *Broaching* had become extinct, as also the dance, and records (as does *KKS*, for example) that it was an item used at the Buddhist Ceremony in the Fifth Month. This is the only score to raise the question whether the piece is 'old' or 'new' music, adding that this matter 'has not as yet been examined.' The fact that the question is raised, however, suggests that the tradition of 'making' by Fujiwara no Tadafusa need not necessarily be accepted as evidence of creation *ex nihilo;* indeed the coupling of 'making' (作) with 'correcting' or 'changing' (改) in *KKS* would seem positively to deny to Fujiwara no Tadafusa the 'composition' of this piece as we would understand it. If one may accept the view that *RSCY* is a re-working of *RJSF* (Fascicle 1, p. 37), it may be that this question of 'old' or 'new' music was still one for consideration in the eleventh century; and this question itself suggests that a Japanese origin was not implied by the statement that Fujiwara no Tadafusa 'made' it.

[6] *SGYR* has *shōshō* 少將, while *JCYR* has a single, illegible lexigraph. *SGYR* adds 'courtier' *ason* 朝臣 before 'Tadafusa', while *KKS* adds the courtesy title after the personal name.

An upper marginal gloss in *JCYR* comments: 'as to the number of drum-beats in the *Prelude*, it is important that this be investigated. [The view] 'extinct', on the right, should also be investigated.'
序拍子数重可勘之右斷又可勘之

**'MARTIAL VIRTUE'**
**(*JCYR*, *SGYR*: primary versions)**

[1] *JCYR* (right): 'one version states ,
(* slur supplied)

[2] *JCYR* (left): flute gloss

[3] *JCYR* (right): 'one version states ,
(* slur supplied)

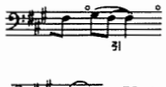
[4] *JCYR* (left): flute gloss

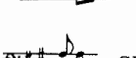
Appended glosses:
A 'one version states ,

B 'one version states ,

[1] *SGYR* (right): *Katsura-fu*

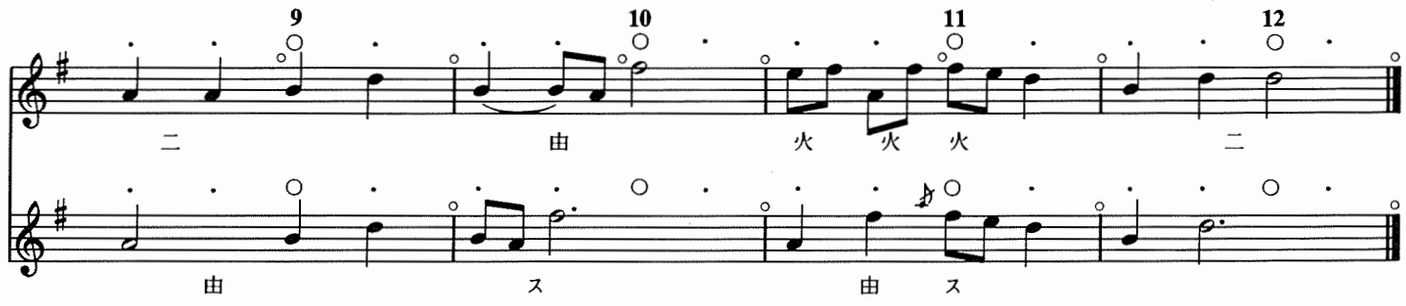
[2] *SGYR* (left): ' one version states'

[3] *SGYR* (left): '  one version states'

[4] *SGYR* (right):  *Katsura-fu*

[5] *SGYR* (left): *Shichū*

[6] *SGYR* (left): *Katsura-fu*




## 'MARTIAL VIRTUE'
## (*JCYR*, *SGYR*: secondary versions)

[1] *JCYR* slur supplied

[2] *JCYR* (left): 'one version states ,
(* slur supplied)

[1] *SGYR* (left): ' 一般 one version states'

[2] *SGYR* (left): ' 一般初反用之 use it the first time, one version states'

[3] *SGYR* (left): ' 一般後反用之 use it in subsequent times, one version states'

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

The entry in *RMS*, and the prefaces in *JCYR*, *SGYR*, *RSCY*, make plain that this single piece is the surviving *Quick* of a suite in three movements: *Prelude*, *Broaching*, *Quick*. In a curious idiom, *RMS* announces: 'The drum-beats [measures] of *Prelude* and *Broaching* are lost; the dance also is lost.' Presumably as a result of an oversight, *JCYR* and *SGYR* do not state explicitly that the *Broaching* (as well as the *Prelude*) is lost – as recorded by *RMS* at an earlier date – but both give the number of drum-beats for all three movements: *Prelude*, 16; *Broaching*, 12; *Quick*, 12.

For the surviving *Quick*, 12 is the number of $\frac{2}{2}$ measures (without a repeat) in the two mouth-organ scores; the strings achieve the same total by repeating the second phrase of four measures. For the *shō*, the structure is: ‖ A ‖ B ‖ B ‖, for the strings, the structure is ‖ A ‖:B:‖; with A consisting of four measures, cadencing on *a'*, and B again of four measures, cadencing on *d''*. The melody is hexatonic in the mouth-organ versions, with *c♯''* as auxiliary, but heptatonic and Lydian in the string-versions, with *g♯'* and *c♯''* as auxiliaries.

The tune clearly belongs to the category of 'popular' (if not 'folk') pieces within the *Ichikotsu-chō* group, along with *Suseishi* (p. 92), *Koinju* (p. 1), *Sukoshi* (p. 88), and the *Quick* of *Tori* (Fascicle 3, p. 43).

APPENDIX 1

# *A note on the song of the King of Farghāna*[1]

The song-text 'The Heavenly Horses Come!' (reading *lai* 徠 in its oldest sense) is of great interest, both in form and in content. It consists of six stanzas, each of four lines, each of three syllables. In the light of settings of Chinese song-texts preserved by Tang and Song sources, the rhythmic skeleton is likely to have been:

The first line of each of the six stanzas is the same: *Tianma lai* ('The Heavenly Horses Come!'), and the third and fourth lines of all stanzas rhyme (in the sound-values of the Chang-an dialect), while in the sixth stanza, lines 1, 2, and 4, share the same rhyme: *lậi* (Karlgren, 1957, 944a) (來), *muâi* (ibid., 948c) (媒), and *d'âi* (ibid., 939a) (臺). The date of the song-text is given in the body of the *Hanshu* text as the fourth year of the reign-period Taichu (101 BC), and the text alleges that the lyric was made when the King of Yuan (=Farghāna) was executed and 'horses of Yuan' were captured. It is important for our judgement of what the concept of ritual, as opposed to non-ritual, music meant for Chinese of the post-archaic period, that this item should have been classed along with the song-texts of songs for State Sacrifice and Worship. The content of the song-text must not detain us here; suffice to say that it abounds in legendary and magical references.

[1] This fascicle, p. 34.

APPENDIX 2

# 'Grandmother *or* Mother-in-law *or* Stepmother Cao' *Sōba/Caopo* 曹婆

## The title, its significance and history

So far as is known at present, this item does not occur in any manuscript other than the mouth-organ manuscript, *SSSTF*. The same title appears not to occur either in *RMS* or in *KKS*. A related title appears to be listed in the *Sada-chō* mode-key list in *WMRJS*, namely 'Grandmother Cao's Five-Stringed Zither' *Sōba-chiku/Caopo zhu* 曹婆筑, but the third lexigraph is misplaced and belongs to the succeeding entry, as observed to me by Mr Stephen Jones. Among Chinese sources, only *JFJ* includes a title in which the name Cao 曹 occurs, namely: 'Heir-Apparent Cao' *Cao Taizi* 曹太子 (reading 太 instead of 大). This title might refer to Cao Pei 曹丕, eldest son of Cao Cao 曹操 of the period of the Three Kingdoms. Cao Pei inherited the title of Prince of Wei (Wei wang 魏王) and proclaimed himself emperor in 220.

A more probable connection might be with the musicianly family Cao. As shown by Gimm (1966, see p. 373, n. 131ff) and Wolpert (1981, see p. 101ff), this family – presumably named after Cao guo 曹國, a state on the border between the Kazakh and Üzbek territories – achieved the status of a musical dynasty in the Tang. Most were lutenists. Though distinguished female members of the family are named, none is referred to in this somewhat derisory manner as *Caopo*.

Though such a rarity, the title (in the form *Sōba*) has not escaped the eye of Professor Hirade (p. xii). He lists it – along with more than twenty other titles in the *Ichikotsu-chō* mode-key group – as a piece that has died out (*hai-kyoku* 廢曲). This 'dying out' or 'discontinuing' relates, of course, only to the performing repertory of the musicians of the Music Department of the Imperial Palace.

Another discontinued item that includes the name *Sō/Cao* in its title is the piece 'Miss *or* Younger-Sister Cao's Dance' *Sōrō-kotatsu/Cao-niang kuntou* 曹娘褌脫 in the *Banshiki-chō* mode-key group; but *Sōrō* is not likely to have been the same person as *Sōba*.

The piece itself has a kind of rustic simplicity. Could it be that 'Grandmother Cao' is a musical parody of one of the brilliant lute-playing Misses Cao of the Cao dynasty? The first name in the Cao family, Cao Poluomen 曹婆羅門, might have undergone abbreviation to Cao Po (suggestion from Mr Stephen Jones), but again it seems somewhat improbable that 'Brahman Cao' should be associated with so slight a piece. A poem by Yuan Zhen (as Mr Jones indicates) refers to 'dancing Cao Po'.

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

The piece is very emphatically Mixolydian and heptatonic. Very remarkably, it repeats sixteen out of its seventeen $\frac{2}{2}$ measures, the first measure acting as a non-repeated incipit. Within the repeating unit of sixteen, the phrases are of unequal length: 3+4+2+3+2+2 measures successively; with no less than eight measures in the rhythm ♩♩𝅗𝅥 ; and in eight measures, repeated notes are a feature of the melodic movement. Phrases may end on mediant, domi-

nant, or tonic, in minim/half-note durations. A curious notational feature, not understood, is the placing of *hiku*-signs after the same three notes in the identical measures 2 and 8. The only other exactly repeated measures are 15 and 17. An ornamental feature not noted elsewhere is the decoration of the second note of a descending major second by a brief repeat of the first note: measures 5, 11, and 16.

A smoothed version, replacing tenths and sixths by thirds, sevenths by seconds, and fifths by fourths, is set on a lower stave, as it might have been played on an instrument with a complete lower heptatonic octave. It is perhaps fanciful to see this tune, with many repeated notes, as a tune more suitable for a plucked stringed instrument than for a wind instrument, for example, even though the source is a mouth-organ version.

APPENDIX 3

# Piece:[1] 'Drunk' or 'Merrily Drunk' or *Kansuiraku Konsuiraku/Hanzui yue* 酣醉樂 or 'Sweet Intoxication' *Kansuiraku/Ganzui yue* 甘醉樂

## The title, its meaning and history

The two forms of the title are variants of a *Komagaku* title: *Kansuiraku/Hanzui yue* 酣醉樂, alternatively read as *Konsuiraku* (Hirade Hisao, 1982, p. 533), of which both music and dance are now discontinued. What survives in the mouth-organ scores appears to be a *Quick*; and this (see Hirade) is said to be used for the singing of the *Saibara* song-text: *Mayutojime* 眉止自女 (p. 95). Markham (1983, vol. I, p. 20) shows both the *Saibara* version and the *Tōgaku* tune, *Suseishi* (p. 97) (to which also *Mayutojime* is sung), transcribed in parallel – the song itself, together with variants, is set out in vol. II, pp. 270ff; but the use of *Kansuiraku* as melody is not mentioned by Moronaga's *Saibara* scores.

There are some slight resemblances between the mouth-organ versions of *Kansuiraku*, and *Suseishi* and *Mayutojime* in Moronaga; but it is not at once apparent how a mouth-organ piece in ten $\frac{2}{2}$ measures could be used to sing a text distributed – in Moronaga (see Markham, vol. II, p. 270) – over ten $\frac{4}{2}$ measures. Since, however, apart from the first text-line, seven further lines are mere repetitions of 'Mayutojime', adaptation may well have been possible. The term *nobe* ('slow'), at the beginning of the version in *SSSTF*, may mean that $\frac{2}{2}$ was equivalent to $\frac{4}{2}$; but this change of itself would not immediately admit of singing the song-text to this tune.

The association of a *Saibara* text with *Kansuiraku* suggests that this *Komagaku* melody must have been popular in Japan by the tenth century at latest and possibly still earlier.

## Prefatory Comments in the Manuscript Sources

***KF/HSFRK***

*Kansuiraku/Hanzui yue* 酣醉樂
Old music. Of drum-beats, ten.
There is a dance.
古樂. 拍子十. 有舞

***SSSTF***

*Kansuiraku/Ganzui yue* 酣醉樂
Of drum-beats, ten. This item was originally Music of the Right [that is: *Komagaku*].
拍子十本者右樂也

## Preliminary comments on the structure of the piece

In its prescribed repetition of two-measure phrases, the tune differs from any piece previously examined. The inversion by *SSSTF* of the first measure of the version in *KF/HSFRK* suggests that by the thirteenth century at least there was some uncertainty about the details of the tune. This view is reinforced by the intrusive e″s in the third measure of the *SSSTF* version, the irregular placing of intracolumnary dots, and the omission of a cadential d″ in the fourth meas-

[1] A piece usually included in the *Komagaku*-repertory.

ure. Note also the small differences between the melodic lines in the two versions. If the leaps of the mouth-organ versions are replaced by the smaller, inverted intervals, the tune resolves into a very simple, 'popular' structure, descending from the dominant to the tonic, pentatonic, and moving largely by step.

APPENDIX 4

# The mensural notation of rhythmic modes, in string and wind parts of *Tōgaku*, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries*

(R.F.W.)

Tablatures for the four-stringed, four-fretted lute, *gaku-biwa* 楽琵琶, in manuscripts compiled in the late twelfth century by the great medieval Japanese music-scholar, musician, courtier, and statesman, Fujiwara no Moronaga 藤原師長 (1137–92), provide documentary evidence not only of the virtuosic abilities demanded of the courtly lutenists of the time, particularly for the solo repertory, but also of an ingenious use of mensural notation to record a complex system of proportional rhythmic modes used, in performance of orchestral repertories, as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The rhythmic modes are mentioned by name, both in prefaces to notations of individual instrumental parts in sources dating from the twelfth century onwards, as well as in court-music handbooks from the same time. Indeed, they are even implied in twelfth-, thirteenth-, and fourteenth-century notations. Notwithstanding Eta Harich-Schneider's study of present-day percussion patterns (1954), however, the presence of rhythmic modes has, in the earliest layer of manuscripts, been largely overlooked.

Each instrumental tablature uses a different set and number of primary tablature-signs to indicate (1) strings and fret-positions on lute, (2) strings on zither, (3) finger-holes on flute and reed-pipe, and (4) pipes on mouth-organ. While several of the secondary tablature-signs that indicate special playing techniques may be peculiar to one or two tablatures only, broadly speaking, secondary tablature-signs indicating relative note-duration, and tertiary tablature-signs providing mensural information – in other words, the symbols used to indicate rhythm and metre – are common to all.

'Medieval' *Tōgaku* was heterophonic: each instrument played an idiomatic version of the melody. Characteristically, plucked strings (lute and zither) tended to replace sustained notes by repeated notes and broken octaves. Since part-writing for lute exploits, where possible, the tonal variety available by alternating stopped and open strings, and since repeated notes (whether unisons or octaves) are always shown in notation as two primary tablature-signs, while in wind-parts a prolongation sign or a simple repeat sign suffices, any lute-variations that involve repeated notes are written out in full. In zither-parts, the practice of reinforcing melody-notes on *strong* beats (usually with a simultaneously plucked lower octave) also requires that single notes, at the same pitch, on *weak* beats, be shown in notation as separate primary tablature-signs.

The existence, in Moronaga's twelfth-century companion-compendia, *SGYR* and *JCYR* for lute and zither respectively, of fully written-out, alternative versions of items, in which standardized techniques for rhythmic variation rely heavily on the use of repeated notes, throws new light on the specialized use of secondary and tertiary tablature-signs (conveying rhythmic and mensural information) in the notation of the *same* variation-techniques incorporated in the singular versions of wind-parts, in manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Separately notated alternative versions for winds are rare in this period.

* This article is an edited version of a paper read at the Ethnomusicology Seminar, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, on 22 February 1984. The author's revised version is published in *Zinbun: Memoirs of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies.* Kyoto University 20, pp. 51–80.

It is perhaps to be emphasized that the term *proportional modal rhythm* has been chosen to indicate that differing, *notated*, rhythmical versions of melodies – versions themselves to be performed – serve also as the basis for systems of *proportional* alteration of durational values, applied in performance according to principles, known to the players, but not recorded in mensural notation in the parts. The practice of specifying *which* proportional alterations may be applied in the performance of individual items, together with that, in wind-scores, of including the basic rhythmic versions to which these proportions are applied in a *single* notated part, has caused difficulties for those grappling with the complexities of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century wind-parts. Moronaga's unambiguous use of mensural notation in his separately notated rhythmic versions for lute and zither clarifies the problem.

Taking lute-tablature as point of departure for a consideration of notated twelfth- to fourteenth-century Japanese orchestral parts, with respect to pitch, suffice it to say that, since intact four-stringed lutes and explicit tuning instructions survive from the early Heian Period (782–1184), the twenty primary tablature-signs in Figure 1, indicating the four open strings and the sixteen possible fret-positions, provide unambiguous pitch-information.

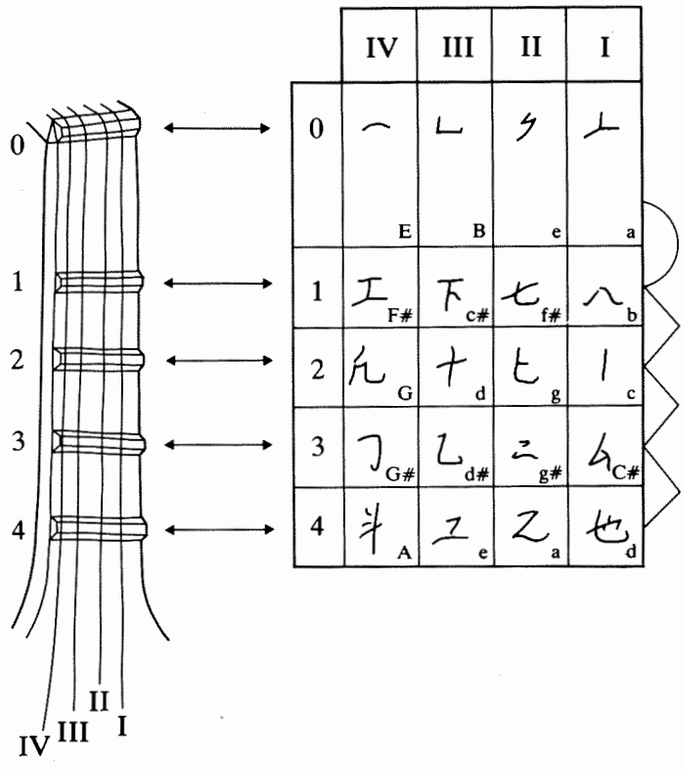


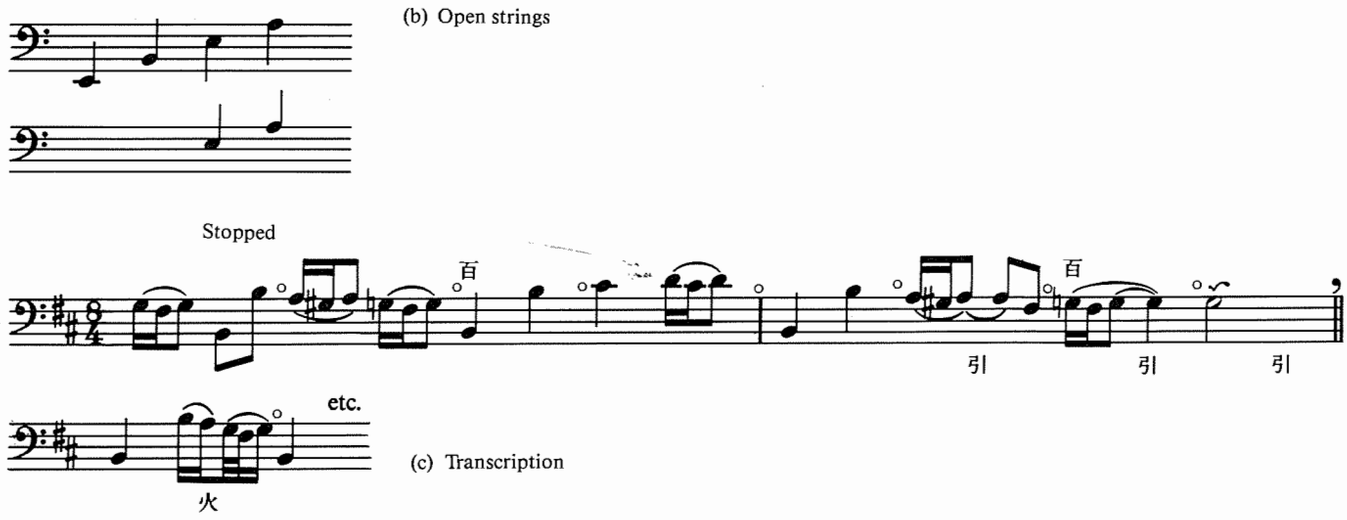

Figure 1 Primary tablature-signs for lute – Hyōjō-tuning

Moronaga's scores for lute (and for zither) are special, as already mentioned, in that they record in tablature two (occasionally more than two) versions for most of the so-called *Ha* or *Juha* movements in suites, and for the majority of single-movement pieces of the same metrical type, namely, in musical lines (usually of two measures of $\frac{4}{2}$ or $\frac{8}{4}$ with terminal cadences on beat 5 or 7 of the second measure.

Figure 2 shows an extract from the primary version – using 'primary' to indicate that this is the first, in a succession of two, or more, notated versions – of the *Juha* movement of the *Tōgaku*-suite *Sandai-en* 三台塩 'Introit to the Three Terraces' from *SGYR*. This movement will be used throughout for purposes of demonstration.

The tablature is arranged in columns, read from top to bottom, moving across the page from right to left. Primary tablature-signs appear both as large signs, and as small signs written beneath large signs and to the right of the vertical axis of the main column. Research carried out by the Tang Music Project has established that large primary tablature signs represent main melody-notes, and occupy one basic time-unit, transcribed here as a crotchet/quarter-note. Small primary tablature-signs represent ornamental notes fingered by the left hand only, and to be executed within the same beat as the preceding main note; these ornamental notes are shown by small notes in Figure 2 (a) (in the transcription by slurs). These small signs are later decorative elements – ligatures and mordents – the most common ornaments in twelfth-century Japanese Court Music. Stem directions differentiate open from stopped strings, as indicated in Figure 2 (b).

Figure 2 (a) Extract of lute tablature from *SGYR*, *Sandai-en no Juha* (primary version; all annotations, including musical glosses, have been deleted to enhance clarity)




Secondary tablature-signs indicating relative note-duration used in this extract are:

(1) The character *ka* 火 'fire': a shortening sign, showing that the value of the notes immediately preceding and following, whether with or without notated ornamentation, is to be halved. A set of common combinations of ornamented and unornamented notes affected by *ka* 火 is shown in Table 1.

*Table 1.* Secondary and tertiary tablature signs in lute parts.

**A. Secondary tablature signs**

1. *Ka* 火, 'fire', a shortening sign

2. *hiku* 引, 'to drag', a prolongation sign

3. *a horizontal stroke* —, indicating the end of a musical line, in transcription shown as |

**B. Tertiary tablature signs**

1. *hyaku* 百, marking the stroke of the large drum in *ha* and *juha* movements on beat 5 or 7

2. Infracoluminary dots or circles ∘, binary unit markers.

3. Small dots to the right (*Kobyōshi*), marking each bcat but bcat 5 (or 7)

(2) The character *hiku* 引 'to drag, to draw, to pull'; a prolongation sign, indicating that the value of the preceding note is to be lengthened – usually doubled. In primary versions for lute, *hiku* 引 normally follows an odd-numbered beat in a measure.

(3) The horizontal stroke — , commonly used in lute-tablature to indicate the end of a musical line. In the *Ha* and *Juha* metrical types, the ends of musical lines usually coincide with the ends of sixteen-beat cycles. However, the horizontal line is a conspicuous marker of instances where the melody cadences either before, or after, the end of a sixteen-beat cycle; or where a terminal cadence is withheld to the end of a double cycle of 32 beats. In transcriptions of lute-parts, the horizontal stroke is shown as a vertical stroke above the stave.

Tertiary tablature-signs in Moronaga's lute-scores include those that reinforce mensural information given by the secondary tablature-signs (*ka* 火 and *hiku* 引, (1), and (2) above) – those that facilitate the reading of passages with extensive, notated ornamentation, and those that signify *ostinato* percussion-patterns.

Tertiary tablature-signs include:

(1) The character *hyaku* 百, written at intervals to the right of the main column of primary tablature-signs; it indicates the main stroke of the large drum, *taiko* 大鼓, in *ostinato* percussion-patterns. Mensural information provided by the secondary tablature-signs, *ka* 火 and *hiku* 引, confirms that, in movements of the *Ha* and *Juha* type, these patterns occupy eight beats, and the main stroke of the large drum falls on beat 5 (very occasionally on beat 7). *Hyaku* 百, then, functions as a conspicuous mensural guide, in that it marks every fifth or seventh beat in the eight-beat measures, defined by the percussion-*ostinato*. *Hyaku* 百 is used both in primary and alternative lute-versions.

(2) A system of intracolumnary dots, or circles, that mark off two-beat segments of notation, to be referred to as 'binary-unit markers'. This system has a purely mensural function, and is used in the *primary* lute versions only.

(3) A system of small dots, *kobyōshi* – 小拍子, to the right of the column of primary tablature-signs. In *Tōgaku*, small dots to the right mark each beat, but that on which the main stroke of the large drum falls is indicated by *hyaku* 百 (see above). For the lutenist, this system has a mensural function, as well as showing the skeletal framework in which the percussion instruments – large drum, small drum, and small gong – perform their patterns. In lute-parts this system is *never* used in conjunction with the system of intracolumnary dots.

Reading the complete lute-part for the first section of *Sandai-en no Juha*, according to these principles, we arrive at Figure 3, called, for reasons that will become apparent, the 'simple' rhythmic version. (All secondary and tertiary tablature-signs are included in the transcription. Repeated notes, and broken octaves in the second half of binary units, are not linked by the shortening sign *ka* 火, as might be expected. Apparently, the performer knew that, in a simple rhythmic version, these were to be executed within the second beat of a binary-unit defined by intracolumnary dots, and therefore that they were each to be of quaver/eighth-note value. Further implications of this notational practice will be discussed later.)

For ease of comparison with the alternative version, a basic melody for the opening musical line has been extracted from this lute-part, according to principles established by members of the Tang Music Project (see Fascicle 1, Introduction). This is shown in Figure 4, to which we shall return in a moment.

Figure 3 Transcription of primary version of *Sandaiu-en no Juha* from *SGYR*

Figure 4 'Basic melody' for measures 1 and 2 of *Sandai-en no Juha*

As is the case for a large proportion of alternative versions in Moronaga's scores, the third transcription of *Sandai-en no Juha*, shown in Figure 5, is labelled *gakubyōshi* 楽拍子, literally 'music beats'. Notational differences between this *gakubyōshi* version and the primary version (Figure 2) are immediately obvious:

(1) a substantial increase in repeated notes and broken octaves;
(2) an increase in left-hand finger-plucked ornaments, shown by small tablature-signs;
(3) the absence of intracolumnary dots; and
(4) the use of *kobyōshi*, small dots to the right of the central column of tablature-signs.

Note that *hyaku* 百 marks the main stroke of the large drum on beat 5 in both notations.

When the same transcriptional rules are applied to the *gakubyōshi* version, the lute-part shown in Figure 6 results.

Figure 5 Extract of lute-tablature from *SGYR*, *Sandai-en no Juha* (alternative version 2, *gakubyōshi* – the manuscript offers three versions of the *Entering Broaching*)

Figure 6 Transcription of alternative version 2, *gakubyōshi*, of *Sandai-en no Juha* from *SGYR*

In Wolpert 1979 (a short article on ornamentation in lute-parts) it was observed that *gakubyōshi* (as set out in Figure 7) is a type of variation-technique, rhythmically characterized by the conversion of crotchet/quarter-note- to quaver/eighth-note-movement, such that a pair of quavers replaces each crotchet (or a large proportion of these) in the original melody. Its most striking melodic feature then appeared to be the repetition of a preceding note as the first note of a succeeding quaver-group, or its equivalent – marked by arrows in Figure 7.

Figure 7 (a) *Taiheiraku* ('Great Peace')
(b) *Gakubyōshi* version, from Wolpert 1979, p. 447

Since then it has become evident, through analysis of a wide selection of *gakubyōshi* lute-versions in Moronaga's sources, that while both observations – the conversion of crotchet/quarter-note to quaver/eighth-note movement, and repetition of melody-notes – remain sound, the governing principle in *gakubyōshi* versions is *syncopation* of the original melody, over repeating sixteen-beat cycles. The general principle is outlined in four stages, (a) to (d), in Figure 8.

Figure 8 The *gakubyōshi*-principle demonstrated in measures 1 and 2 of *Sandai-en no Juha* from *SGYR*

As set out in Figure 8 (a), the melody-note on beat 1 (in the cycle of sixteen beats that comprise the typical, two-measure, musical line in *Ha-* and *Juha*-movements) is lengthened by half a beat in the *gakubyōshi* version. Consequently, succeeding melody-notes are postponed by half a beat, as compared with their position in the cycle in the primary version, and fall between the beats marked by small dots and *hyaku*. Contraction by half a beat over the penultimate melody-note (*f♯'*, beat 12 in the primary version, is reduced to quaver/eighth-note value in the *gakubyōshi* version) achieves a cadence to the line-final with the stroke of the large drum on beat 13, as in the primary version. The area of syncopation thus created in the cycle falls between beats 2 and 13. The horizontal stroke (represented in transcription by a vertical stroke above the stave) that follows the terminal cadence in both versions, marks the end of the musical line. In this instance, as in most movements of the *Ha* and *Juha* type, the end of the musical line coincides with the end of the sixteen-beat cycle, defined by two repeats of the eight-beat percussion-*ostinato*.

Figure 8 (b) includes the notes of the tablature-signs that coincide with small dots to the right, demonstrating that, within the area of syncopation, melody-notes, now placed between beats, and each converted from a crotchet/quarter-note to a pair of quavers/eighth-notes, are repeated *on* the beat (marked with arrows), unless there is repetition in the original melody itself. Note that the opening melody-note (on beat 1) is repeated as the first quaver of beat 2.

With respect to Figures 8 (c) and 8 (d), where the *gakubyōshi* lute-part is compared: first (above), with the *gakubyōshi* basic melody, and then (below) with the primary lute-part, it is to be noted that:

(1) The second note in notated ligatures is to be regarded as a melody-note. Attention is drawn to the ligature *d'-c♯'* on the second half of beat 7 in the first measure, and to the repetition of *c♯'* on beat 8;

(2) The filling-out of the final four beats of the cycle with repeated *g*s, ornamented in lute-like fashion, suggests a slower performance-speed for the *gakubyōshi*-version, necessitating filling-out to compensate for sound-decay;

(3) As shown by bracketing in (d), the added notes necessary for *gakubyōshi* are always *repeated notes*, never *notes of anticipation*; and

(4) The regular occurrence of the shortening sign *ka* 火, between quavers or their equivalents, in even-numbered beats in the cycle save those prolonged by *hiku* 引, is superfluous in *gakubyōshi*. This use of *ka* 火 will be discussed when considering the application of proportions.

Figure 9 shows the effect of *gakubyōshi* rhythmic-variation over the complete first section of the *Juha* movement of *Sandai-en*. This movement was chosen to demonstrate the application of the *gakubyōshi* principle in musical lines that do not coincide with sixteen-beat cycles.

As shown by *boxing* in the primary version, the horizontal stroke (represented by a vertical stroke above the stave) marks the ends of musical lines, only one of which, the first, corresponds to a sixteen-beat cycle. This occupies two measures exactly – measures 1 and 2. The remaining fourteen measures in the section (measures 3 to 16: seven sixteen-beat cycles) accommodate only five musical lines, as defined by terminal cadences and the vertical stroke. These are of 14, 18, 14, *48*, and 18 beats respectively. (The single occurrence of the horizontal stroke within a musical line, in measure 11, is not understood.)

Figure 9 (a) Primary version – musical lines defined by terminal cadence with vertical stroke (|)

Figure 9 (b) *Gakubyōshi* version – area of syncopation in musical lines defined by terminal cadence with vertical stroke (|)

As shown by *hatching*, representing the areas of syncopation in the *gakubyōshi* version, the principle outlined in Figure 8 is indeed operative. For each musical line, defined by a terminal cadence and the horizontal stroke, regardless of overall length, the opening melody-note is prolonged by half a beat by being repeated as the first quaver in beat 2; syncopated melody-notes on half-beats are repeated as quavers on succeeding beats; the penultimate melody-note is contracted by half a beat; and the terminal cadence coincides with that in the primary version.

In passing it may be noted that the juxtaposition of musical lines of irregular length over fixed ostinato percussion-patterns in eight beats (two patterns per sixteen-beat cycle), so that beginnings (or endings) of musical lines do not coincide with those of percussion patterns (a practice already

noted in twelfth-century Japanese Court Song) produces an exciting element of tension.

Bearing in mind, firstly, that Moronaga's *SGYR* preserves for *Sandai-en no Juha* (and for a majority of pieces of this type) *two* rhythmic versions; the *simple* rhythmic version of the primary part, and the *syncopated* version of the *gakubyōshi* alternative; and, secondly, that these are separately notated, with mensural information provided by intracolumnary dots and *hyaku* (in the simple version), and by small dots to the right and *hyaku* (in the syncopated version), let us now turn to the wind-parts.

The compendium of mouth-organ parts for *Tōgaku*, *SSSTF*, dated 1303 (Fascicle 1, pp. 30, 31), does not provide separately notated rhythmic versions of pieces, but incorparates these in a single tablature with two layers of mensural notation, differentiated by the use of red colour.

The notation of *Sandai-en* from *SSSTF* is shown in Figure 10. The dots, large and small, are red in the original. The primary tablature-signs, indicating the pipes + reeds are shown in Figure 11. Note that the numeral *ni* 二 ('two') in Figure 10 is a repeat-sign, indicating that a preceding primary tablature-sign is to be repeated. The lexigraph *yu* 由 indicates a mordent (in wind-parts). The secondary tablature-sign *ka* 火 functions as in lute-tablature, halving the value of the notes immediately preceding and following. The prolongation-sign *hiku* 引 appears only to be used when lengthening by more than two beats is required.

Two layers of mensural information are provided: the first, by black intracolumnary hollow dots, the second by a system of large and small red dots to the right of the main column of tablature. From colophons to the manuscript (Fascicle 1, p. 31) we know that the second layer of mensural notation (the marking of the stroke of the large drum with a large dot, and the system of small dots, both to the right) was inserted (in red) after the writing of the tablature with intracolumnary hollow dots (in black). It seems likely, therefore, that the red strokes connecting primary tablature-signs were also inserted along with the red dots, and that they form part of the same, second layer of mensural notation. Likewise, occasional ornamental notes, shown as glosses in red, probably refer to the second version of an item.

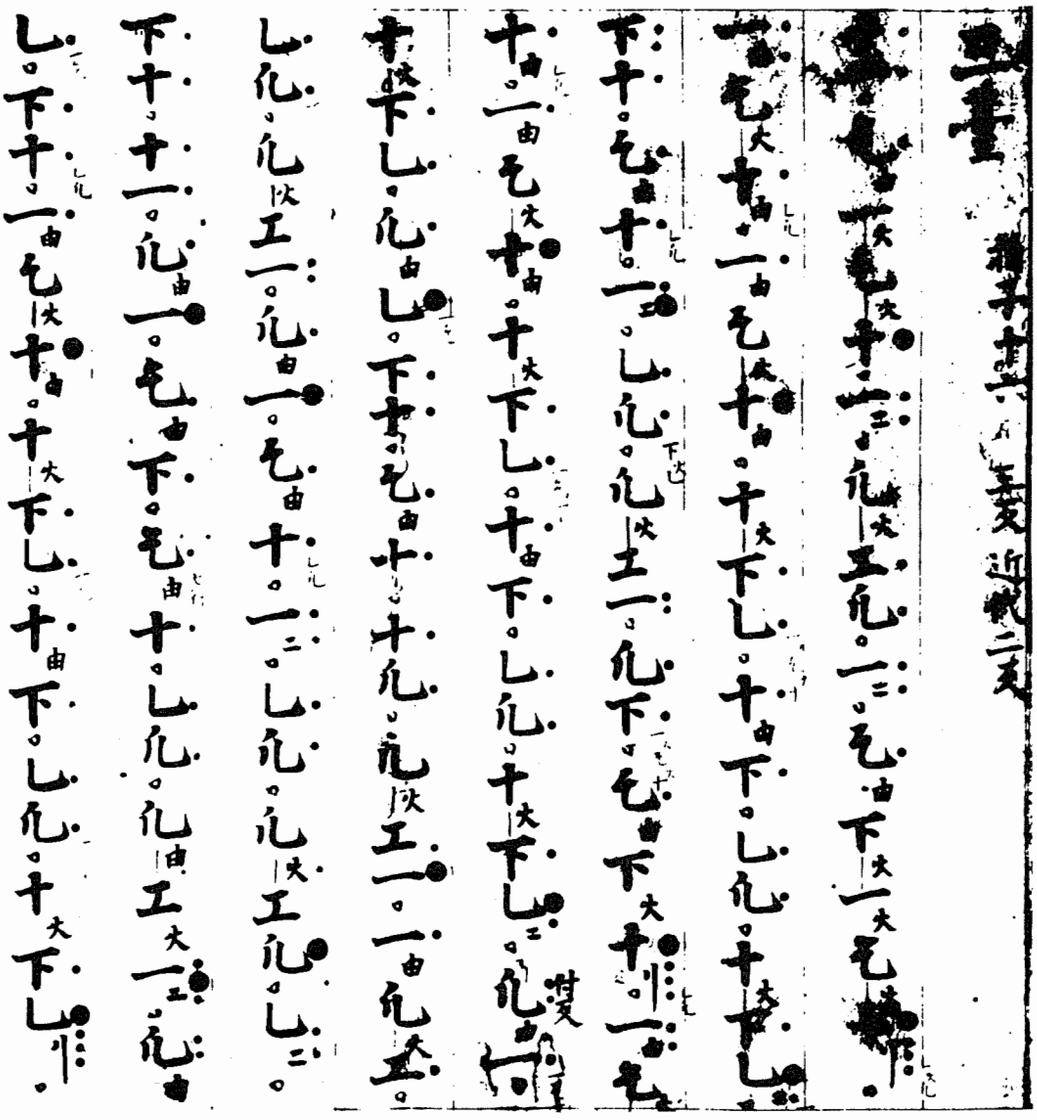


Figure 10 Section 1 of *Sandai-en* from the mouth-organ score *SSSTF*

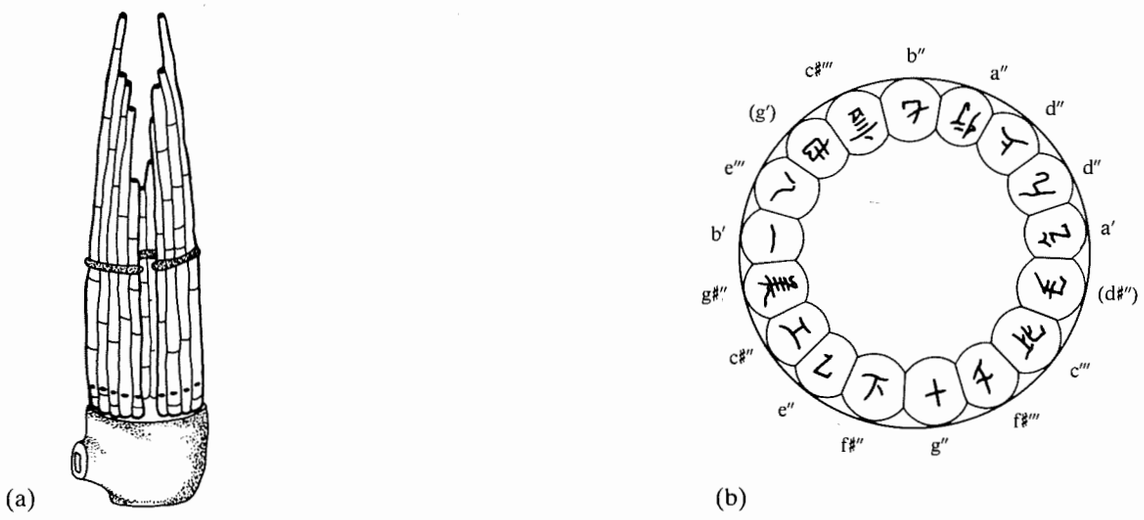



Figure 11 (a) Free-reed mouth-organ
(b) Primary tablature-signs and pitches of pipes of mouth-organ. Pitches of silent pipes shown in brackets.

Working on the assumption that, as in the primary lute version of *Sandai-en no Juha*, rhythmic and mensural information for the simple rhythmic version for mouth-organ is provided by the secondary tablature-signs *ka* and *hiku* (for shortening and lengthening respectively), and by the tertiary, mensural system of intracolumnary, black circles, ignoring all signs in red, including the large red dot that indicates the stroke of the large drum, we arrive at the mouth-organ version in Figure 12. As expected, this is our *simple* rhythmic version for mouth-organ.

Figure 12 The simple rhythmic version of *Sandai-en* from *SSSTF*

The basic melody for measures 1 and 2, extracted from this mouth-organ part, is shown in Figure 13 (a). It is identical with that extracted earlier from the primary lute version.

With the knowledge that reading the tablature (in *SSSTF*) according to mensural information given by the intracolumnary circles yields the *simple* rhythmic version of *Sandai*, it

Figure 13 The *gakubyōshi* principle applied to measures 1 and 2 of *Sandai-en* in *SSSTF*

(a)
Basic melody, simple rhythmic version
Simple rhythmic version, SSSTF
由
火火 二 火 二 火火火 引
(b) Gakubyōshi principle according to Fujiuwara no Moronaga
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
百
(c)
Expected area of syncopation
Basic melody Simple rhythmic version
Simple rhythmic version SSSTF
Distorted rhythmic version SSSTF
(d)
Gakubyōshi basic melody
Syncopated (gakubyōshi) version SSSTF
♩ or ♪
(e)
Syncopated (gakubyōshi) version SSSTF
Gakubyōshi lute part

Slurs in the mouth-organ part indicate red-line ligatures. Bracketed notes indicate repeated/prolonged notes in *SSSTF*, repeated notes in *SGYR*

seems reasonable to suppose that the mensural system in red – large dots to the right (marking the stroke of the large drum on beat 5 in every measure of 8 beats), small dots, also to the right, and (presumably) the red strokes connecting certain primary tablature-signs in the main column – serves to notate the syncopated version. Figure 13 (b), the *gakubyōshi* principle of syncopation, as observed in Moronaga's scores, is repeated for ease of reference.

As a first step (Figure 13 (c)), the tablature is read, ignoring the intracolumnary circles, but accepting dots to the right, small and large, as marking single beats, with the stroke of the large drum on the fifth beat in each measure. Brackets indicate tablature-signs connected by red lines. While there is clearly an area of rhythmic distortion, corresponding to the expected area of syncopation, a complete beat is missing from the beginning of the cycle, melody notes are postponed by a complete beat (as compared with the simple version) rather than by a half-beat; moreover, there is but little quaver-movement and repetiton of notes, and the rhythmization of notes connected by red lines and their position in the cycle are oddly irrational and demand that the shortening sign *ka* 火 be at times ignored. This reading is not acceptable.

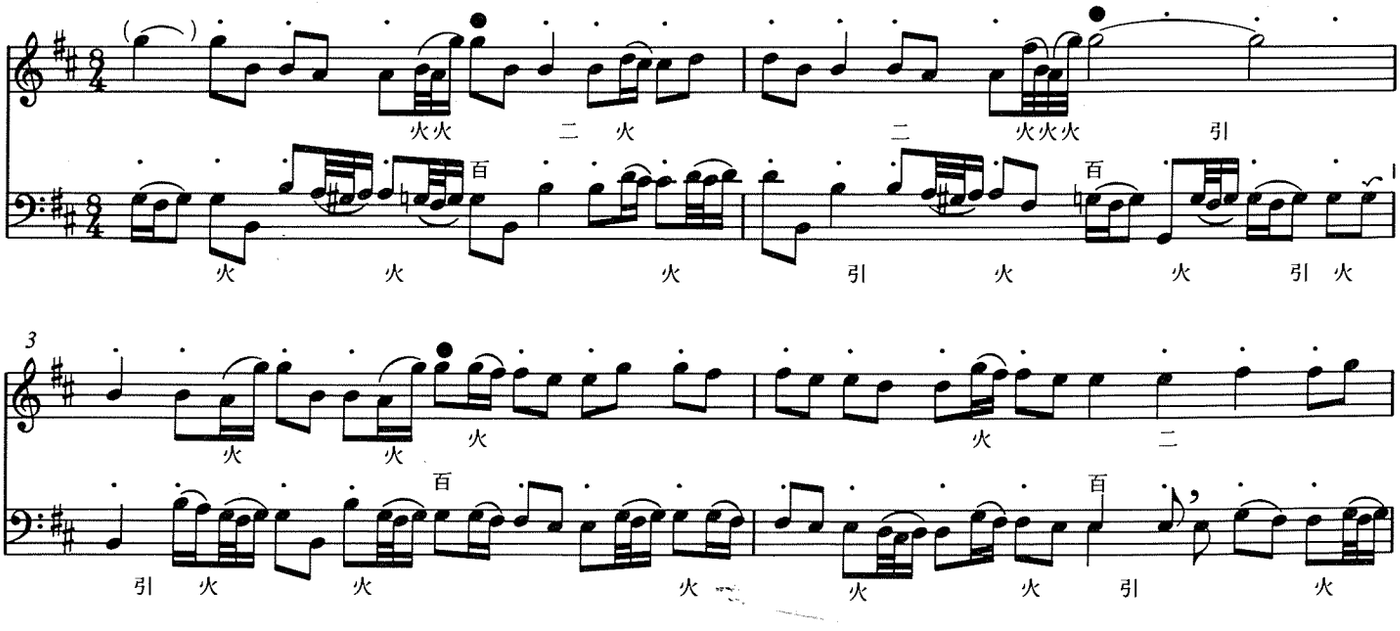
If, however, we assume that the principle of *gakubyōshi* (exemplified in Moronaga's scores for lute and zither) was known to musicians at the end of the thirteenth century, is it not possible that a mouth-organ player, faced with this notation, a notation that incorporated both the simple rhythmic version (without continuous note-repetition) as well as a rhythmically varied version, could have made the necessary adjustments? In practical terms, it would have been easier for a performer to syncopate a melody according to a known principle, rather than to ignore notated syncopation in order to extract a simple rhythmic version from complex notation.

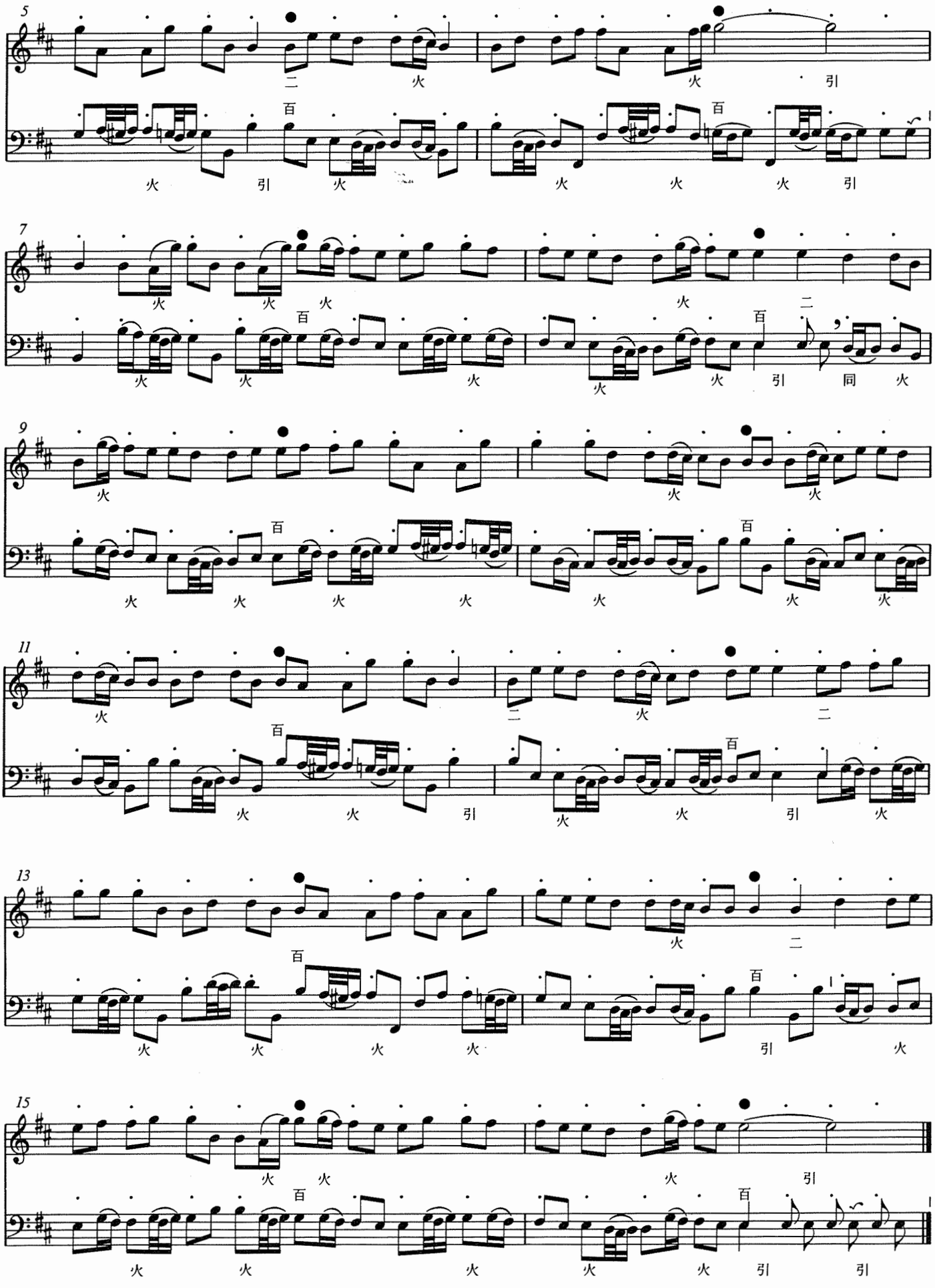
To convert the unacceptable reading (reading according to red dots only) to a perfect, syncopated, *gakubyōshi* rhythmic version, the performer has only to play the note corresponding to each tablature-sign marked with a red dot (plus mordent where indicated) half a beat in advance, and then either to sustain it through, or possibly to repeat it *on*, the beat indicated by the red dot. Figure 13 (d) demonstrates the application of this hypothesis. Sustained or repeated notes are boxed.

The function of the red lines connecting primary tablature-signs now becomes clear. They indicate that notated ornamental notes, together with the syncopated melody-note to which they are applied, must be fitted into a quaver/eighth-note beat, and in the rhythm indicated by the use of the shortening-sign *ka*. The resulting mouth-organ part correlates exactly with the *gakubyōshi* lute-part as shown in Figure 13 (e). The presence of three, rather than four, small dots to the right, before the stroke of the large drum in measure 1, suggests *either* a staggered entrance of parts, *or* that the player knew that, according to the *gakubyōshi* principle, the note of the first tablature-sign was to be sounded a complete beat in advance and then repeated.

A complete transcription of the first section of *Sandai*, made according to the hypothesis advanced in Figure 13 (a)–(e), and set out above the *gakubyōshi* lute-part, is provided in Figure 14.

Figure 14 The syncopated (*gakubyōshi*) version of *Sandai-en* from *SSSTF* compared with the *gakubyōshi* version from *SGYR*




5
二 火 火 引
百
火 引 火 火 火 火 引
7
火 火 火 火
百
火 火 火 火 引 同 火
9
火 火 火
百
火 火 火 火 火 火 火
11
火 二 火 二
百
火 火 引 火 火 引 火
13
火 火
百
火 火 火 火 引 火
15
火 火 火 引
百
火 火 火 火 火 引 引

The existence in later mouth-organ sources of written-out syncopated versions, in which the removal of ornamentation conveniently allows us to observe the principles at work, strengthens the argument that the *gakubyōshi*-principle was indeed applied in performance of secondary versions in *SSSTF*. An extract from a later mouth-organ manuscript is shown in Figure 15, together with the corresponding section from *SSSTF*. Note that the later source exactly reproduces a basic *gakubyōshi*-melody.

(a)
Syncopated version *SSSTF*
Syncopated mouth-organ part (University Library, Cambridge, PICKEN)
(b)
Basic melody, syncopated *gakubyōshi* version
Syncopated mouth-organ part (University Library, Cambridge, PICKEN)

Figure 15 Notated syncopation in a later mouth-organ score. This passage is reproduced from a copyflo-copy of a manuscript in the collection of Mr Elling Oliver Eide. The manuscript, without title, is dated 1839 and signed (with *kaō*) Umenobō Matsuchiyo (Zempo) 梅坊松千代善寶 (University Library, Cambridge, *Picken* 101.22

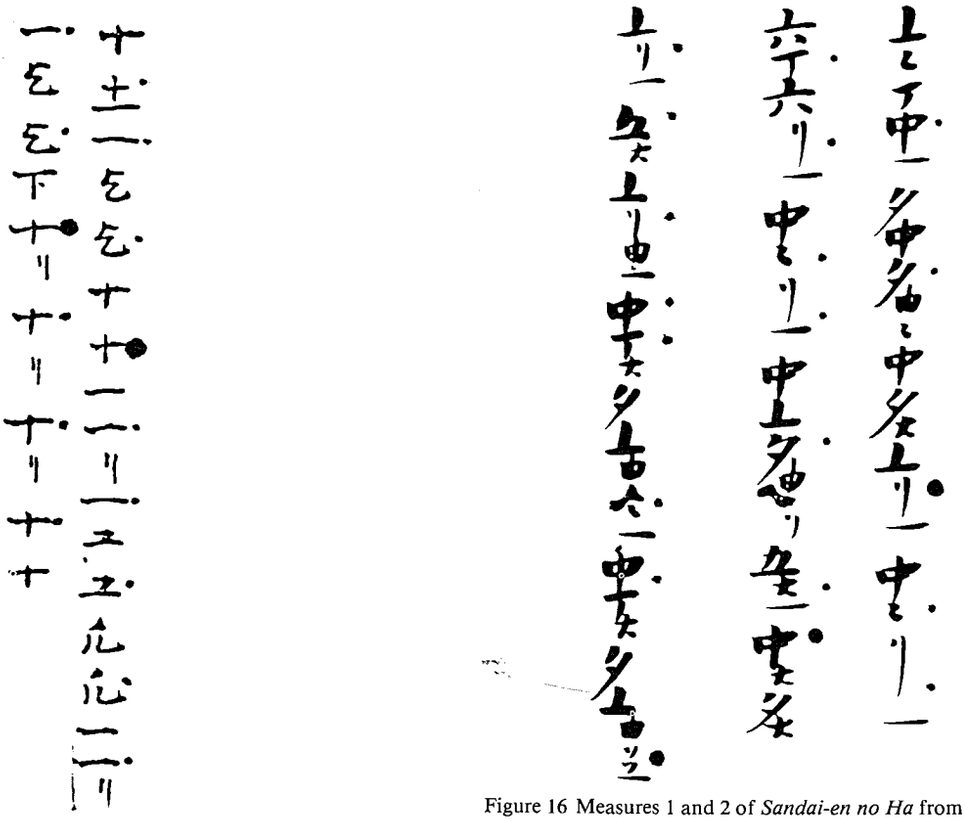


Figure 16 Measures 1 and 2 of *Sandai-en no Ha* from the flute MS *CORYF*

Figures 16 and 17 show an extract and transcriptions from the fourteenth-century flute-score, *Chū Ōga ryūteki-yōroku-fu* 注大家龍笛要録譜. They are included to demonstrate that the principle of *dual notation*, observed in mouth-organ parts, appears also to apply to flute-parts. Note that the horizontal stroke replaces intracolumnary dots, or circles, as binary-unit marker of segments of notation in the simple rhythmic version.

In Figure 17 (a), the extract is read according to the placing of the horizontal strokes. The simple rhythmic version that results is slightly more embellished than either lute or mouth-organ parts. The syncopated, *gakubyōshi*, rhythmic version, arrived at by *ignoring* the horizontal strokes, but *accepting* dots to the right, and the use of the prolongation-sign *hiku* 引 to indicate that syncopated melody-notes on half beats are to be sustained through the following beat, rather than repeated on the beat, is shown in Figure 17 (b).

The presence of two, separately notated, versions of items in Moronaga's sources – the simple version, and the syncopated, *gakubyōshi* version – has enabled us to differentiate the two layers of mensural notation in single versions for winds. As stated earlier, both versions were used in performance. From Moronaga's lute-scores it appears, however, that these two rhythmic versions served as basis for two sets of proportional rhythmic modes. At this stage, and working solely from Moronaga's scores, it seems that, while straight-forward augmentation may well have been applied to both versions, simple and syncopated, other proportional alterations were applied, to one version or to the other, but not to both.

Returning to lute-versions of *Sandai-en no Juha* in Moronaga's various compendia, *SGYR* includes three notated versions. These are (1) the primary version (the simple rhythmic version), (2) a first alternative version (almost identical with the primary version), and (3) a second alternative version, the familiar, syncopated *gakubyōshi* version. Moronaga's other compendium, *Sango-yōryaku* 三五要略 includes two versions, and a later score, *Sango-chūroku* 三五中録, known to derive from *SGYR*, also preserves two versions.

Figure 17 The *gakubyōshi* principle applied to measures 1 and 2 of *Sandai-en no Ha* in *CORYF*

The relationship among versions in these different sources is set out in Table 2. *SGYR* includes three versions. The two versions in *Sango-yōryaku* are identical with the primary and second alternative version (the *gakubyōshi* version) in *SGYR*, but they are presented in reverse order. The two versions in *Sango-chūroku* are identical with the primary version and the *gakubyōshi* alternative in *Sango-yōroku* in that sequence.

Several versions are labelled as shown in Table 2, as *gakubyōshi* or as *tadabyōshi* 只拍子, a term known to indicate proportional alteration to a compound metre. The second version in *Sango-chūroku* is labelled *gakubyōshi*, but the preface to the notation also indicates that the proportion *nobeya (hyōshi)* 延八 is to be applied. *Tadabyōshi* tends to be linked with the simple rhythmic version, while *nobeyahyōshi* is associated with the *gakubyōshi*, or syncopated, rhythmic version. This tendency is to be observed throughout Moronaga's scores.

*Table 2*

| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Sango-yōroku* (*SGYR*) | Primary version (simple rhythmic version) | Alternative version 1 (simpler rhythmic version) | Alternative version 2 (syncopated version) *GAKUBYŌSHI* |
| *Sango-yōryaku* | 2 Alternative version (simple rhythmic version) *TADABYŌSHI* | | 1 *Primary version* (syncopated version) |
| *Sango-chūroku* | 1 Primary version (simple rhythmic version) | | 2 Alternative version (syncopated version) *GAKUBYŌSHI* *NOBEYA (-HYŌSHI)* |

From Eta Harich-Schneider's study on rhythmic patterns (1954) (Leiden, 1954) we can assume that *tadabyōshi* 只拍子 'add beat(s)' indicates a compound metre, and that each binary unit in a twelfth-century, simple rhythmic version is to be converted to a unit of three beats, by doubling the value of the second beat in the original binary unit. In Figure 18 (a) this proportional alteration is applied to the opening musical line of the simple rhythmic version of *Sandai-en no Juha* from *SGYR*. The basic *tadabyōshi* melody is shown on the upper stave.

The term *nobeyahyōshi* 延八拍子 literally, 'stretch eight beats' presumably indicates straightforward augmentation. In *Sango-chūroku* 三五中録 it is applied only to versions of items notated with *hyaku* and small dots to the right, and appears to indicate that each beat in the measures of eight beats is to be doubled. In Figure 18 (b) *nobeyahyōshi* augmentation is applied to the *gakubyōshi* lute-part. Such augmentation of a syncopated version of a melody would have demanded from wind-players, reading dual notations in *SSSTF* or *CORYF*, the same mental acrobatics as were required for *gakubyōshi*-reading, but at a slower speed.

Confusion could arise, however, in the application of proportions that seem to involve both augmentation and conversion to a compound metre. The proportion *nobetadayahyōshi* 延只八拍子 is not specified in the prefaces for *Sandai-en no Juha*, but is nevertheless implied in the notation of the *gakubyōshi* lute-part. The term itself is clearly a combination of the concepts of 'stretching' (*nobe* 延) and 'adding' (*tada sae* 只さえ) over eight-beat measures (*yayōshi* 八拍子). One might suppose that the *tadabyōshi* proportion (shown in Figure 18 (a)) should be applied to the augmented *gakubyōshi* version in Figure 18 (b). However, again from Moronaga's notations, and warned by Eta Harich Schneider's study, it emerges that *nobetadayahyōshi* can also indicate the reverse of *tadabyōshi*, but applied to the syncopated versions only. As demonstrated in Figure 18 (c), each two-beat unit is to be converted to a unit of three beats by doubling the value of the *first* beat in the original unit. The mysterious shortening-sign *ka*, noted earlier as superfluous for straight *gakubyōshi*-versions, would be essential here to ensure that the performer produces this complex proportion correctly, with quavers (or their equivalent) on beat 3 of the new unit.

Fujiwara no Moronaga's lute-parts thus provide the key not only to the reading of dual notations in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century wind-parts, but also for the application of complex proportions to the notated rhythmic versions. His scores permit a first glimpse of a lively, imaginative, musical practice, and of the ingenious means by which its rhythmic and melodic essentials were captured in notation.

(a) *Tadabyōshi* (*Tadayahyōshi*), applied to simple rhythmic version

(b) *Nobeyahyōshi*, applied to *gakubyōshi* version

(c) *Nobetadayahyōshi*, applied to *gakubyōshi* version

Figure 18 The proportions *tadabyōshi*, *nobeyahyōshi* and *nobetadaya-hyōshi*, applied to measures 1 and 2 of *Sandai-en no Juha*

APPENDIX 5

# *Gyokuju goteika*: A tentative explanation of preludial implications, recorded in prefatory comments, in *KCF* (N.J.N.)

The sources in tablature (Fascicle 3) agree that *Gyokuju goteika* has eight Sections, and that the tune, played once through, constitutes a Section. It is also clear that the first Section has 14 drum-beat measures, and that the remaining Sections have 12 drum-beat measures each; there are therefore $14+(12\times7)=98$ drum-beat measures in all. In a complete performance, the item will consist of the same melody played eight times, omitting the first two measures after the first time through. Nothing is lost in the repeating Sections, as the first two and the last two measures of the entire fourteen-measure tune are the same. These initial and final measures are the subject of 'preludial' references and descriptions in *KCF* (Fascicle 3, pp. 9 and 10).

The main paragraphs of the *KCF* preface describing the quasi-Preludes and preludial implications in this item need clarification. Interpretation of *gaku-fuku*, *yo-fuku*, and the *Seigaiha* reference, is not included. There are three descriptions to consider.

1. 'It is said that there are three quasi-Preludes', and they are described and located:

(i) 'the opening two [measures are] Prelude';
(ii) 'at the end of seven sections, one [measure is] Prelude';
(iii) 'the end of eight Sections [is] Prelude'.

The 'three quasi-Preludes' specified here are three brief portions of the tune in repetition, all the same music, and played in the Prelude-manner. The same passages from the second to the sixth Sections are not required, therefore, to be played in the style of a Prelude.

2. 'It is also said, however,. . .' Information is less clear in this paragraph as, in addition to where the Prelude-manner should be adopted, the preface includes where to play *gaku-fuku* and *yo-fuku*, and where to increase the tempo. It is said that the Prelude-manner should be adopted four times, the first time being the initial two measures of the first Section. The text then describes how to proceed to the fourth Section, and how to continue from the fifth Section; it is not clear whether there is a preludial reference implied. Possibly there is, because a direction is given to quicken gradually from the seventh drum-beat of the fifth Section, through the sixth Section, until the eleventh drum-beat of the seventh section, at which point the Prelude-manner is to be adopted up to the eighth Section. The specific direction to urge the tempo forward implies that the formal preludial style had been assumed earlier, at, or during, the fourth Section. A precise statement is lacking, but the reference may be implicit.

A further point concerns 'this Prelude'. To what is the author referring here? Do these words refer to playing in the Prelude-manner only from the eleventh drum-beat of the seventh Section to the end of the seventh Section, or do they imply that the eighth Section also has its quasi-Prelude, like the first Section and the seventh Section, namely, the closing measures with which the whole rendition will then conclude? The answer is probably that 'this Prelude' refers to the same preludial fragment in both Sections. Rejection of the feasibility of these interpretations renders the paragraph too confused and imprecise to clarify the issue of the

Prelude-manner occurring four times in the complete performance of the item. 'Makes four' is the problem for the reader at this point. If the possibilities are admitted, the four Prelude-like moments, according to this description, will be:

(i) the first two measures of the first Section;
(ii) the fourth Section, or part of it, up to the seventh drum-beat of the fifth Section;
(iii) from the eleventh drum-beat of the seventh Section for one or one-and-one-half measures;
(iv) the last measure, or measures, of the eighth Section, the same as the first measures of the first Section. 'This Prelude, together with the previous ones, makes four.'

3. The remainder of the Preface also deserves attention. The first measure is preludial, after which *gaku-fuku* playing is adopted. The inference is again that *gaku-fuku* playing is a particular description of playing in the non-preludial manner; and this view is supported by the instruction that two measures, at the end (presumably) of the first Section, are also to be played in the preludial manner, not in *gaku-fuku* it seems. Can the next sentence, 'this is what is called "three quasi-Preludes"' mean that the first measure, and the last two measures of the first Section, make three quasi-Prelude measures? Such an interpretation would not, however, suit the first description above, where the term 'quasi-Prelude' was initially introduced. Furthermore, the present description, the third within this Preface, points to five places, amounting to six measures in all, where performance in the manner of a Prelude is to be adopted:

(i) the first measure of the first Section;
(ii) the two final measures of the first Section;
(iii) the final measure of the seventh Section;
(iv) the first measure of the eighth Section;
(v) the final measure of the eighth Section.

Summarising: there is agreement that passages in the Prelude-manner occur in the first, seventh, and eighth Sections. There is no agreement that such a passage is present in the fourth Section, or anywhere between the first and seventh Sections. The three accounts are unanimous that opening and closing the complete piece is to be done like a Prelude; and they are sufficiently clear about the time-span over which the Prelude-manner is to be maintained. The following comparative table summarises the preludial implications contained in the Preface to *Gyokuju goteika*, as recorded in *Kaichu-fu*.

| 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|
| Section 1, 'opening two measures' | Section 1, 'first two measures' | Section 1, 'the first measure . . . also, at the end, two measures' |
| | Section 4 to Section 5, drumbeat 7 | |
| Section 7, 'at the end . . . one measure' | Section 7, 'after the eleventh drum-beat' | Section 7, 'the twelfth measure' |
| Section 8, at the end . . . Prelude' | Section 8, this Prelude makes 4' | Section 8, 'the first measure . . [and] the final single measure' |

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